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October 23rd, 1922

Mrs. C. H. Sudler,
79 Cedar Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mrs. Sudler,

On returning to New York this morning I find two good letters from Mr. Sudler in one of which he asks whether I could send you a copy of the cablegram from the Patriarch of the Greek Church in Constantinople. I am very glad to do this, and enclose a copy of his full message herewith.

I also enclose for your information and Mr. Sadler's, a copy of a letter which we are sending out from the Federal Council to 100,000 churches throughout the United States. It indicates what seems to us to be the wise and practicable course of action for our Christian people in this very great emergency.

Will you please thank Mr. Sudler for his kind letter. It is always a pleasure to see him or to hear from him. I am only sorry I had to go off to the meeting at McCormick Seminary Thursday afternoon and was not able to stop to talk to many friends whose faces I saw at the luncheon.

With kind regards to Mr. Sudler and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,

RES:C.

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Copy of cablegram received by Mr. Speer from Melitios, Ecumenical
Patriarch of Greece- October 23, 1922.

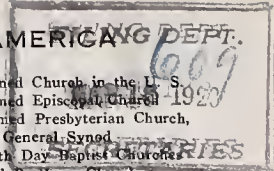
Deeply grateful for energies your organization in favor
deliverance Christian Asia Minor and Thrace. Intervention
United States constitutes at present sole hope to all victims of
injustice. You have saved Republican Europe from absolutism.
Do save now likewise Christian East from extermination. The flames
of Smyrna invite you to come to assistance of the churches of
Asia and Thrace.

MELITIOS Ecumenical Patriarch.

Samuel McCrea Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)



Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of Chris-
tian Social Service
Reformed Church in America

Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church,
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

ML

March 3, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

You will be glad to know that as a result of a little conference which Mr. Kimball and I had with Mr. Marling, we have reached a satisfactory arrangement concerning our Process Shop. We are to leave the ninth floor and are to receive space on the fourth floor in the building adjoining the United Charities Building, but connected with it by a passage way on the fourth floor. I think the space will be quite as good and the rent is less.

We have been asked by two or three persons, who are closely in touch with the Home Missions Council, to suggest someone as a successor to Dr. Anthony. Dr. Marquis and Dr. Cady have both said to find someone who would definitely undertake to bring the Home Missions Council into a closer relationship with the Federal Council. Dr. Anthony also said to me personally the other day that the time had come to effect a closer relation, and then suggested that perhaps I might become the secretary of the Home Missions Council in order to bring this about. This, of course, would be quite out of the question both from the standpoint of the Home Missions Council and from my own work here. Certainly, however, there is now an opportunity, such as we have not had before, for effecting a closer cooperation. Have you any suggestions in the matter? If so, I should greatly appreciate receiving them.

The question of our future policy with reference to the Near East situation we ought to discuss sometime at your convenience. Do you think that the Federal Council should make a strong stand for no treaty with Turkey unless Turkey provides an Armenian national home?

Cordially yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert

General Secretary.

*Mr. Moore ?
Brauer.
Don't you know who it is. This man.
Giles.*

*C. S. Sturtevant
Rev. Anthony
Bro. Knight*

*Burton.
Dr. M. D. ...*

*Lecky.
Chubb
Dr. J. Kern*

S. M. Cavert
S

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FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

APR 21 1923

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Speer
From S M Cavert

Date Apr. 23, 1923

To Dr. Speer

Subject Conference on correlation of programs of religious education

I do not know what your schedule is for May 2-4, but if you could attend the Conference on Correlation of Programs of Religious Education at the Forest Hills Inn, I think it would be interesting to you and well worth while.

There is a very great interest on the part of a great many people in the educational field in this conference. The representatives of the Sunday School Council are not very enthusiastic, apparently thinking they can handle the situation without any need for this kind of effort, but the other groups, such as the agencies of missionary education, the daily vacation Bible schools, Boy Scouts and Young Peoples' Societies, etc. are evidently very much concerned.

I attach a copy of the program herewith.

CONFERENCE ON CORRELATION OF PROGRAMS FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Forest Hills Inn, Forest Hills, L. I., May 2, 3, 4, 1923

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Theme of the Conference: The Correlation of Programs for Use Among Boys and Girls Between the Ages of 12 and 17.

FIRST SESSION - WEDNESDAY, May 2, 7:45 P.M.

Theme of the Session: Essential Elements in a Complete Program of Religious Education for Ages 12 - 17.

What elements are essential?
How are they related to each other?

Open discussion - led by Professor Harrison S. Elliot, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City

SECOND SESSION - THURSDAY, May 3, 9:30 A.M.

Theme of the Session: The Distinctive Contributions now being Made by the Various Agencies Toward a Complete Program of Religious Education for Ages 12 - 17.

Note: As a basis for discussion, digests of statement will be presented, showing what distinctive contributions are now available for use among members of this age group. The statements have been officially prepared by the respective agencies, each of which has been asked to state:

- a. What elements in the program it feels itself peculiarly responsible for supplying, for example:
What motives does it seek to make controlling?
What values does it emphasize as of supreme worth?
What kinds of skill does it undertake to develop?
What loyalties does it foster?
What personal adjustments does it attempt to bring about?
In what enterprises does it enlist the energies of boys and girls
- b. What distinctive contributions does each agency make to the content of the complete program of religious education for these ages?
- c. In the contribution which each agency makes, what place is given to the following program materials, with what relative emphasis, and in what relation to each other: Text-book information, reading books, outline study courses with reference material, problem discussion courses with source material, biographical courses, project courses, memorization matter, manual activities, group expressional activities, service projects and service activities, athletic, dramatic or worship activities, etc. etc.?

Digest of Statements:

1. The Sunday School Agencies, denominational and interdenominational. Presented by Rev. H. H. Meyer, Editor, Methodist Book Concern, New York.

2. The Agencies for Missionary Education.
Presented by Rev. H. W. Gates, of the Congrega-
tional Education Society, Boston.
3. The Young People's Societies.
Presented by Mr. E. P. Gates, Secretary Inter-
denominational Young People's Commission, Boston.
4. The Christian Associations, Y.M.C.A.
Presented by Mr. A. B. Gregg, Boys' Work Sec-
retary, International Committee, Y.M.C.A., New York;
and Miss Etha Louise Buchanan, Girl Reserve Movement,
National Board of the Y.W.C.A., New York.
5. The Allied Agencies: Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, etc.
Presented by Prof. Edward P. St. John, Auburn
Theological Seminary, Auburn, New York.
6. Agencies for Week-day and Vacation Schools
Presented by Rev. E. L. Shaver, Director of
Survey of Week-day Education for the Religious
Education Association, in 1921-2, Boston.
7. Research Agencies, Presented by Rev. Henry F. Cope,
Religious Education Association, Chicago.

Discussion

THIRD SESSION - THURSDAY, May 3, 2 P.M.

Theme of the Session: Experience in the Use of Programs Provided by the
Various Agencies Working Independently.

1. Experience of the Local Church
Rev. Claris E. Silcox, Pastor, Church in the Gardens,
Forest Hills, L.I.
Rev. C. I. Hellstrom, Director of Religious Education,
First Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N.J.
2. Experience in the Community at Large
Rev. Orlo J. Price, Executive Secretary, Rochester
Federation of Churches
Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary,
New York.
3. Present Programs as a Basis for College Work in
Religious Education
Dr. Robert L. Kelly, Executive Secretary, Council of
Church Boards of Education, New York.

Discussion

FOURTH SESSION - THURSDAY - May 3, 7:45 P.M.

Theme of the Session: Experiments in the Attempt to Secure Correlation of
Programs.

1. By a Social Agency
Dr. T. W. Galloway, American Social Hygiene Association, New York,
2. By Denominational Agencies
Mr. Edward Sargent, Episcopal Board of Religious Education, New York,
Rev. W. A. Squires, Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, Philadelphia.
Prof. A. J. W. Myers, Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, Hartford, Conn.
3. By an Interdenominational Agency
The International Sunday School Lesson Committee:
Prof. W. C. Bower, Chairman, Sub-committee of International Sunday School Lesson Committee on Curriculum of Religious Education, Louisville, Ky.

Discussion.

FIFTH SESSION - FRIDAY, May 4, 9:30 A. M.

Theme of Session: The Problem of Correlation Analyzed and Formulated.

1. From the Point of View of the Local Church
Rev. B. S. Winchester, Fairfield, Conn.
2. From the Point of View of the Community
Miss Mabel E. Stone, Girls Friendly Society, New York.
and Y. H. C. A.

Discussion

SIXTH SESSION - FRIDAY, May 4, 2 P. M.

Theme of the Session: The Next Steps in the Solution of the Problem.

Report of Findings Committee

Discussion.

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Apr 1923

THE DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS NOW BEING
MADE BY THE WEEK-DAY AND VACATION SCHOOL
MOVEMENTS TOWARD A COMPLETE PROGRAM OF
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR AGES 12 - 17

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Note: In giving the distinctive contribution made by these agencies to a complete program of religious education for ages 12 - 17, it must be borne in mind that neither of them have at present extended their programs into all sections of the country, nor have they covered all types of communities. It is to be noted also, that, while these movements theoretically are concerned with boys and girls of this age as well as those who are younger, the number of pupils of 12 - 17 actually dealt with is relatively small, possibly not exceeding one-fifth of the total number which the movements reach.

I. AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRAM WHICH THESE MOVEMENTS FEEL THEMSELVES PECULIARLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPPLYING, GIVES INFORMATION REGARDING

A. Controlling Motives Sought

The aim of these schools is to lead the pupil into an active desire to be a Christian or to be a good citizen (there is not always a clear distinction between the two). These goals of character are often further described by the use of such adjectives as, good, intelligent, or loving. Frequently the child strives to be virtuous or moral; specifically, to be honest, loyal, truthful, helpful, and so forth. With a few exceptions one finds little emphasis upon the personal salvation motive. The desire to be of service to others is found as a controlling motive in a varying degree in the schools.

B. The Values Emphasized as of Supreme Worth

Both Movements strongly emphasize the fact that a knowledge of fundamentals is most important. These fundamentals are the Christian truths as found in the Bible and elsewhere. More specifically, these fundamentals are listed as certain virtues, as self-control, good-workmanship, loyalty, reverence, and so forth. Of great value, but given secondary place in the program, is conduct in accordance with high principles. In most cases this conduct is specified as Christian, though frequently one finds confusion because the term moral education is the only one used. Compared with the Sunday session program, week-day schools lay less emphasis upon worship. Vacation schools give it a larger emphasis.

C. Skills (or Knowledge) Worked For

Skills of an intellectual nature which become a part of the program are memory work, acquiring and imparting facts, interpretation of Biblical and other material, and ability to take part in a meeting. Praying, singing, acting reverent, feeling communion with God are worked for in the realm of worship. Skills more largely of a physical nature include, in general, expressional activities characteristic of a good Christian or citizen. Specifically, these skills are manual arts such as, paper cutting, coloring, pasting, sewing, sawing, and the like. Accuracy and neatness in the making of notebooks is desired also. Playing games, swimming, and countless other outdoor amusements suggest goals of physical development.

D. Loyalties Fostored

Programs of both week-day and vacation schools set loyalty to high ideals for the children under their care. The loyalty is variously viewed as being to the Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God, to the American ideal of government, to one's church (the denomination as a whole or local church), to the particular school organization, or to one's class or group. Most of the schools lay great stress also upon loyalty to the truth as revealed or taught in the Christian religion. In some schools, loyalty to specific enterprises is fostered. In some cases, these enterprises are set going to meet individual or world, needs.

E. Personal Adjustments Sought

In general, the aim of the schools from this standpoint is to change the individual child from a self-centered to a cooperative being. This general ideal frequently finds expression in specific objectives. The Vacation school especially undertakes to change children whose environment is unsatisfactory by replacing such habits as uncleanliness, irreverence, fighting, swearing, and so forth, with habits of an opposite nature. Indirectly, there is an endeavor to help the children solve the particular problems of their individual lives and environment.

II. WEEK-DAY AND VACATION SCHOOL ENTERPRISES ENLISTING THE ENERGIES OF THE BOYS AND GIRLS

Many of the enterprises have been given or suggested above. A partial list would include, - studying, reciting, writing, lessons, listening to talks or stories, singing, praying, saluting the flag, marching, dramatics and pageantry, calisthenic drills, moving pictures, countless manual activities such as sewing, wood working, basketry weaving and pasting, parties and exhibits, playing games, swimming, field contests and outings, and so on. The week-day schools confine their enterprises more largely to those of intellectual or study nature with a little worship added. The vacation schools put greater emphasis upon worship and particularly upon manual and outdoor activities.

III. PROGRAM MATERIALS USED

The enterprises listed above suggest the nature of these materials. Week-day schools are largely dependent upon text books and memorization matter, but give some attention to expressional activities. The Vacation schools offer a wider range of material including the use of athletics, games, pageantry, and other activities of a physical nature.

IV. DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS

One must measure the contributions of these two movements rather by the central elements in their programs than by those elements which are being added on to give it completeness of program. The most distinctive contribution of both of these movements seems to be the

the desire to give to the pupil a knowledge of what it means to be a Christian. The leaders in both movements are strong in their belief that such knowledge is badly needed. Where the schools have proven successful, this purpose is finding fulfillment. Both movements are giving to boys and girls a program of activity under helpful leadership. In the case of Vacation schools, this activity takes care of the child at a time when no other agencies provide anything to do. It is difficult to say that either of these movements makes a contribution which is peculiar to itself. One might list a great many items of knowledge, skill, habit formation, ideals, and so forth, but in most cases these would overlap with similar items offered as the contributions of other religious education movements, particularly those movements under direct control of the church, such as the Sunday school, young people's societies, or missionary societies. The knowledge contribution, however, remains as most distinctive.

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PANAMA AND PROTESTANTISM

A Religious Editor visits the Canal
Dr. W. E. Gilroy.
Editor-in-Chief, The Congregationalist.

There are few places where from almost every standpoint duty and opportunity alike confront the Christian Churches of America as they do today in the Panama Canal Zone and in the adjacent territory.

The visitor to the Zone is impressed with two things above all others. On the one hand is the crucial and unusual situation of thousands of Americans isolated for longer or shorter periods from the normal life of the homeland, in a tropical climate and environment, where in spite of all that science and sanitation have accomplished the moral and spiritual tendencies are mainly downward; and on the other hand are the many evidences of the magnificent way in which Christian men and women of the Canal Zone, fully realizing these dangerous tendencies, are battling against them. If any group of Christians face to face with peculiar difficulties ever needed and deserved the support of the whole Christian people of the United States it is these devoted and self-sacrificing believers who are endeavoring to establish the institutions and influences of the Christian Church in this strategic area upon a broad, sound and permanent basis. Appeal is made in their behalf not because of any failure on their part. They have shown great liberality; they have assumed and are assuming burdens. But their problems and situation are unusual; their task is one that concerns the welfare of the American people as a whole, as much as the Canal which it is their particular concern to maintain in service, and the adequate performance of that religious task is beyond their unaided abilities.

With excellent vision and fine spirit groups of Christians formerly associated with various denominations have decided to work upon a Union-Protestant basis. They do not want sectarianism and division in this small section and under these trying conditions where all the strength that unity can give will be none too much. Strange to say this commendable policy may make the immediate problems more difficult of solution. Where individual denominations would come in and spend substantial amounts it is not easy as yet to capitalize in actual funds the growing sentiment in behalf of cooperative religious effort. But this difficulty should make the present opportunity the more urgent and inviting. Here is a situation where it may be demonstrated that Christian cooperation is more than a mere sentiment.

These great ends, it seems to me, worthy support of the Union Protestant enterprise in the Panama Canal Zone, and adjacent territory, may hope to accomplish:

1. To help to maintain wholesome Christian influences for members of American churches who, with their families, are permanently located on the Canal, and at the same time serve the larger constituency of those whose stay is more transitory but who live around the Zone long enough to be permanently influenced for good or evil.
2. To build up moral safeguards and spiritual influences where thousands of American soldiers and sailors will always be located, and where all the allurements of evil are flagrant.

3. To set in an environment where Romanism has meant superstition and ignorance some worthy example of what Protestant Christianity can effect. It is a strategic missionary opportunity.
4. To set alongside the Canal, which is the most unique monument to American genius for organization and for the conquest of difficulties, some worthy expression of the genius of American religion. Where rulers, soldiers, business men and engineers have thought in hundreds of millions, the Christian Church ought to think at least in terms of tens of thousands.

It will be to the lasting shame of the Protestant Churches of America if a strip of land destined, possibly, to be the most important upon the whole earth's surface, and for which this country has assumed financial, political and military responsibility, lacks adequate provision for the institutions and services of religion; and it will be unfortunate if in any sense the Christian Church is left to lag behind at a time and in a place of such amazing opportunity.

William E. Gilroy

A LONG STEP TOWARDS A WARLESS WORLD

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During the next nine months the American people must decide whether or not the United States shall follow the proposal of the President and the Secretary of State, and associate itself definitely with the Permanent Court of International Justice established at the Hague.

The issue which the World Court presents is not a new one. It embodies the agelong conflict between law and force. In earliest times each man, an absolute sovereign, remained a law unto himself. Disputes were settled by an immediate appeal to force. But gradually this changed, for the people could not stand the havoc of hate and conflict and destruction which such a system involved. Within the family, then the tribe, then the state, arbiters arose. No longer were individuals allowed to settle at will with their opponents in the ancient primitive way. Slowly a system of laws took shape governing the decisions of these judges. The very progress of mankind can be marked by law's slow conquest over force.

But the nations, the last of the absolute sovereigns, resisted this change and even up to yesterday asserted the right to be a law unto themselves. As a result came the World War. Today around the earth the people know that if nations are to survive they too must subject their individual wills to established processes of law, their individual interest to the welfare of all mankind. All that the Christian Church itself has built up in the hearts and minds of the people through centuries of effort hangs in the balance. For war in the future, aided by the powers of science, simply means self-destruction. This appeal to the sword can only be abolished by one means, - the means already found effective within the state - by making possible an appeal to law instead. That is exactly the purpose of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In it we see the final culmination of the long struggle of man to civilize himself.

The Christian forces of this land for many years have advocated the settlement of international disputes by courts of arbitration rather than by resort to force. Indeed to them belongs no small responsibility for the strong leadership taken by the United States in behalf of such a program before the World War, and since 1918 denotation after denotation has officially requested the leaders of our government to take such steps as will lead us to active participation in the new Permanent Court of International Justice. In May, 1922, the Federal Council of Churches, representing united Protestant feeling, presented to the President a memorial urging our entrance into the Court as "not only the fruition and consummation of many decades of American discussions, plans and desires for international peace through justice based on law, but also the promise of a larger and truer righteousness and justice among the nations, a step forward in the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men."

A day of great decision for our country and the world has now arrived, a day long sought by the Christian people of our land. There will be strong forces at work opposing the action recommended by the President. Many dangers will be conjured up to frighten doubtful minds. Strong appeals will be made to the lowest motives of the American people. Others may oppose it because it does not go all the way in outlawing war. Altho this is true, the establishment of the Court is a most important practical step in this direction. What folly to decline to take the first step because it is not a complete solution all at once! Concerted, vigorous and continuous effort in support of the Court is imperative on the part of all who see in the principle of established law the only hope for the nations.

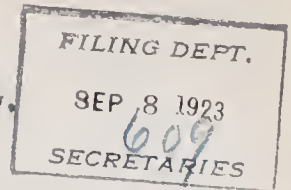
Believing that the issue is one that involves the vital welfare of the people of this nation and the world, and upon which the Christian Churches have taken a decided stand, we are sending you this letter urging you to be vigilant lest a great day of opportunity pass by.

Copy for Dr. Spurr.

S. M. Cawest

RECEIVED

Enroute Athens to Germany.
Aug. 19, 1923.



Dear Dr. Macfarland:

Writing on a Balkan train when your pen has run dry is pretty much of a problem, but I'll try to send at least a note, and to reply to your memos that came to me at Athens, forwarded from Zurich.

I had a superb time in the Near East; so profitable, in fact, that I stayed considerably longer in Athens than I had anticipated. The special reason for staying was in order to attend an Inter-area conference of the Near East Relief, on future policies, which got postponed to the 17th. Mr. Vickrey was there, also Dr. Peet, and most of the directors of the various areas.

I never had an opportunity to meet so many leaders of a country as in Greece. Indeed, it was rather pitiful to see their desire to lay hold of the slightest contact with America. I met the Prime Minister, the leader of the Revolution and the King - all of which had some little value in giving me an impression of the kind of folks/^{at}the helm. The Greek papers gave considerable publicity to the Federal Council. I had a most valuable conference with Chryostom, the new Metropolitan of Athens, who is a magnificent personality and much interested in the Federal Council, about which he knew quite a bit. At Constantinople, as I wrote earlier, I met many of the Orthodox leaders. I also learned a good deal about the Greek Church from C. V. Hibbard's brother, who is at the head of the Y.M.C.A. in Athens.

Dr. Peet is especially anxious that the Federal Council use its influence with the Turks to allow the return of Meletios to Constantinople as patriarch. Dr. Peet has been very close to the situation and is informed by the Greek High Commissioner at Constantinople that there is a fair probability of this being allowed, on a distinct understanding that the Patriarch's authority would be spiritual only - provided the Turks are convinced that the outside world (other than the Greek) is really interested in the Patriarch. Dr. Peet thinks some ex-

pression of opinion from America would help most; says that our cable to the First Lausanne Conference was distinctly helpful. So he wishes the Federal Council would get into touch (personally if possible) with whatever representatives of the Angora government are now in America. A Turk named Fuad Bey has been in America as the spokesman for the Turks with an office known as the Turkish Information Service (at 280 Broadway, I think) My impression is that Fuad Bey has now returned to Turkey but probably some one else is in America. Dr Peet has written the full details to Dr. Barton, with whom you should get in touch, if indeed, Dr. Barton has not already gotten into touch with you. Perhaps Dr. Finley could help; he was in Angora recently. In talking with the Turkish representative you should not, of course, give any intimation of a prompting by Dr. Peet, but let it appear as a wholly spontaneous expression of American interest in Meletios.

On account of my long stay in the Near East I shall not get up to Scotland to see William Adams Brown, but I have written him that I will expect him to present the Huguenot-Walloon message unless he wires me otherwise. Your Federal Council message I shall present August 27 if all goes as planned. I shall see Dr. Brown a little later in Amsterdam. I am now on my way to Eisenbach for the Lutheran Convention.

I enclose two articles for the Bulletin, if they arrive in time, one on the Orthodox Churches, the other on Near East Relief. The latter might be sent to the religious press also, for the sake of boosting the Near East Relief a bit. It certainly ought to be boosted, by every means in our power, Possibly Hungerford could use it also.

I have sent you photographs of Chryostom, the Metropolitan of Athens, which would go well with the article on the Orthodox Churches; two or three photos of Near East Relief at their big station on the Island of Syra, which I visited; and a photo of the Presbyterian World Alliance at Zurich, about which I sent you a short story two weeks ago. If you use it, probably you ought to carry, if

possible, a short story about the Baptist World Alliance; Harry Myers promised to send something about it.

The acting Patriarch of the Armenian Church, at Constantinople (Bishop Kevork) promised to send us his photograph to New York. If it comes you might use it along with Chrysostom's.

I do not feel qualified at present to say anything about the European situation outside of the Near East. Later I'll do so, if the next two weeks prove profitable.

As to the Executive Committee meeting I have no special suggestions of importance, at the present moment. If we could get Hansen as a speaker it would be fine, unless you feel his address at the World Alliance will have disqualified him for another. I understood he can be reached at Geneva at the League early in September, and will be in America by the middle of October. One thing does occur to me as worth while, to try to get, as friendly visitors, several of the Orthodox leaders, perhaps Archbishop Alexander, Platon and Panteleimon, if he is still there. Some wise man, like Mr. Colton or Dr. Barton, might speak ~~some~~ on the relations of Protestantism with the Orthodox Churches, as a means of educating our people a little.

Prof. Boynton, of General Theological Seminary is just returning from Jerusalem and tells me he has learned a lot about the problem of the Holy Places. I saw him only hastily, no doubt you will want to see him at your early opportunity.

I expect to sail from Cherbourg on the Royal Mail "Orbita" on Sept. 7.

Always faithfully yours,

(signed) Samuel M. Cavert

N. B. Possibly Dr. Speer might be interested in seeing part of this letter, especially the paragraph about Dr. Peet and Meletios.

RECEIVED

OCT 19 1923

Mr. Speer

Impressions of the Religious Situation in Europe

A Report to the
Administrative Committee of the Federal Council
of the Churches of Christ in America

By Samuel McCrea Cavert
September 28, 1923.

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One learns to distrust the man, who, as he steps off the gangplank on his return from six weeks in Europe, proceeds to tell his countrymen the last word on the situation across the sea, to propound a full solution of international questions, and to give authoritative advice as to what should be America's policy toward Europe. It is with no such attitude that I make this report of impressions on the situation in Western Europe and the Near East. The following observations and suggestions are simply the personal impressions made by one who has gone to Europe for the first time since the war, and who has tried to study the situation with impartial eyes. The report has to do primarily with problems which directly concern the Christian churches, especially in their cooperative work, although these problems are so bound up with social and international issues in general that I have not been able to avoid the latter.

Influence of the Cooperative Movement in American Christianity

One of the most gratifying experiences of the summer was the discovery of the extent of the influence of the cooperative movement in American Christianity upon the European Churches. Dr. Adolf Keller, of Zurich, one of the outstanding Christian leaders on the Continent, even went so far as to declare, at the meeting of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, that "the international significance of the Federal Council of America is as great as its national influence."

Due, in some part at least, to the successful experience of our Federal Council, several federations of churches are now reaching a solid development. The French Protestant Federation is beyond question a well established agency. Housed in a building of its own at 47 Rue de Clichy, Paris, which also serves as the headquarters of several other evangelical movements, and fortunate in the leadership of its executive, Rev. André Monod, the federation is exercising a profound influence upon the religious life of France. The Swiss Federation of Churches, under the direction of Dr. Keller, has come to wield an influence that reaches far beyond its borders, as is evidenced by the fact that the Christian leaders in the various countries of Europe looked to it as the agency that could best organize the European Churches into a central bureau to deal with their common need for outside relief. In Germany the Evangelische Kirchenbund, organized a little over two years ago, is playing a significant role in the momentous changes following the separation of Church and State. After talking at length with Dr. Moeller, the president of this new-born federation, which, in the face of unprecedented problems and discouragements and difficulties, is trying to strengthen the spiritual forces of the nation by united action, I came away feeling that the Evangelische Kirchenbund represented a movement of far-reaching possibilities.

Of especial importance, in view of the tragedy now being enacted in the Churches of Central Europe, has been the part played by the Federal Council in the establishment of the Central Bureau for the Relief of the Evangelical

Churches of Europe. The significance of this movement, the Christian forces of America have not begun to realize. At the present stage it is too early to say what the Central Bureau may be able to achieve, but its very existence is a great encouragement to our fellow-Christians in the stricken lands. In Austria, Hungary and Germany especially I found deep gratitude for what the Bureau had already done.

The new church buildings which have been erected with American help in the devastated regions in France - at Rheims, San Quentin, Verdun, Chateau-Thierry, Compiègne and elsewhere, and the new Protestant building in Paris - are the ground of much gratitude to our American Churches, and to the Federal Council as the center through which many denominations have cooperated in carrying out their work of brotherly love. The Huguenot-Walloon-New Netherland Tercentenary, initiated by the Federal Council, to be held in 1924 to commemorate the coming of the first Huguenot Walloons to America and to call widespread public attention to the incalculable contribution made by French, Belgian and Dutch Protestantism to the life of America, is the center of genuine interest in France, Belgium and Holland. Not only in church circles but in governmental circles as well has this movement attracted much comment. Especial interest attaches to the proposed Huguenot pilgrimage next year, which, it is hoped, will serve to acquaint many Americans, who ordinarily see in Europe only the institutions of Roman Catholicism, with the spirit and life and significance of European Protestantism.

In the Near East I found perhaps equally grateful recognition of what the Christian forces of America have done. To the Near East Relief this gratitude is chiefly due, and it was encouraging to discover that it is generally thought of as a great Christian organization. To many leaders in the Orthodox Church the Federal Council of the Churches is also most favorably known, especially for its efforts in behalf of justice for the Christian minorities, the preservation of the patriarchate at Constantinople and the work of relief.

Growth of the World Alliance

The steadily growing influence of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches is ground for deep satisfaction. Throughout Europe it is building bridges of goodwill and appreciation across the yawning chasms of international suspicion and misunderstanding. Little groups of leaders in the Churches of the various lands are coming into closer touch with each other as a result of its quiet work. The consciousness of the underlying unity of the Christian Church throughout the world is being quickened by the sense of membership in this common Christian movement that transcends the divisive barriers of nationality and race. No one who believes that in the Gospel of Christ is to be found the final solution of the world's strife and chaos can be too grateful that the World Alliance is in existence. If it were not, certainly we should have to set ourselves to creating some other international organization that would bring the Christian forces of all nations together in a united effort in behalf of peace.

Obviously it is the path of wisdom for the Christian people of America to strengthen in every possible way a Christian agency of such immeasurable potentialities. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the World Alliance should work together in the closest understanding and reinforce each other at every point. Each agency has everything to gain thereby. The work being done by the Federal Council, as the national agency through which the American Churches officially work together in bringing Christian

principles to bear upon America's international policies, needs to be related definitely to similar efforts on the part of Christian groups in other lands. The World Alliance is the channel through which this can most effectively be done. The World Alliance, on the other hand, as an international organization, would gain additional strength if it were related to the Federal Council of the Churches in such a way as to represent American Christianity officially in its cooperation with European Christianity in behalf of world peace. The clear-out recognition of the Federal Council by the World Alliance as its American section, and of the World Alliance by the Federal Council as its representative in all matters of cooperation with other national groups in the interest of international peace, would seem to be the simplest and most effective form of relationship.

Developing World-Wide Unity

Not only in working for peace but in the whole area of Christian life and work is fuller international cooperation among the Christian forces the crying need of the hour. Happily, the ties that bind churches of the same denominational family together are being strengthened. It was my privilege to be at Zurich, the historic city of Zwingli, during the meeting of the Eastern Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, and at Eisenach, Germany, inseparably associated with the work of Martin Luther, during a part of the Lutheran World Convention. At both of those gatherings it was clear that a new world consciousness is being born. Reports from Stockholm, where the great Baptist world convention was held, tell the same story. In other denominations also, in greater or less degree, this tendency is seen. In all these enlargements of the consciousness of belonging to a world-wide family every follower of our Lord should rejoice. But more is needed. Not simply a denominational unity but a far greater unity of life and work among all who bear the name of Christ in every land is the goal toward which we must steadily and resolutely move.

The Universal Christian Conference

The recent developments in the plans for the proposed Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work are therefore full of promise. The character of the conference is now becoming clear and its potential value is beyond dispute. It will be a means of bringing together the several national movements, already well under way, for the intensive study of the meaning of the Christian Gospel for the life of the world today. In Great Britain "The Conference on Christian Citizenship, Economics and Politics", to be held in Birmingham in April, 1924, is arousing widespread interest. In the United States "The National Conference on the Christian Way of Life", initiated by the Federal Council of the Churches and organized as a free independent movement, is now becoming well organized and will culminate in a conference to be held probably in the early summer of 1925. Thorough studies of Christianity and Race, Christianity and Industry, Christianity and International Relations and the Social Function of the Church are being made. In the Universal Conference these two national movements of study, and similar though probably less extensive movements on the continent of Europe, will come to an international focus.

This general plan was heartily approved by the meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Universal Conference, which I attended in Amsterdam, September 4 and 5. Professor Williams Adams Brown, Bishop James Cannon, Jr. and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary, were also present from the United States. The date of the Universal Conference was fixed for August 12-30, 1925 at Stockholm, Sweden. The Committee on Program, under the

chairmanship of Professor Brown, presented a syllabus, designed to secure a common approach on the part of the various countries to the various topics of study. These are God's Purpose for the world, Christianity and Industrial Questions, Christianity and Social Questions, Christianity and International Questions, Christianity and Education, Christian Cooperation.

The Conference should serve a two-fold purpose: first, to bring together official representatives of the churches of all lands (including the Eastern Orthodox) in a way that will minister to the development of international cooperation among all Christians; second, to stimulate widespread and thorough study of the great social and international issues on which a common mind among Christians is so urgently needed. To this Conference the Churches of the Federal Council should give their generous and unstinted support. It owes its origin in large measure to the influence and initiative of the Federal Council, which convened the first meeting. Its present stage of development is due to the financial assistance of the Church Peace Union. More important, it is in line with the ideals of Christian cooperation and the application of Christianity to all phases of human life, to which the Churches of America have committed themselves in the creation of the Federal Council.

Economic Crisis in European Churches

One cannot study at first hand the conditions confronting the Churches in many parts of Central Europe today without being stirred to the depths. The situation in some areas is too pitiful to be fully credible to those who have not seen it with their own eyes. In Hungary the economic stringency occasioned by rising prices and a falling currency means that hundreds of city pastors, whose parishes are made up of working people and the salaried middle class, are receiving, according to Bishop Ravasz, of Budapest, with whom I discussed the situation at some length, no more than \$2 or \$3 a month.

In Germany the situation is heartrending. In many districts, notably Saxony, where the revenue from the State has been completely cut off, almost every pastor is said to be working every day in a factory in order to keep body and soul together. The lot of the old ministers, indeed of all elderly people of the middle class, is tragic beyond words. The utter collapse of the mark means that the competence which they had saved for their declining years is swept away. The amount that meant a comfortable income for their declining years will now not buy a single loaf of bread. On July 23, when our ship reached Hamburg, the mark stood at 1,200,000 to the dollar; when I was there at the end of August it was around 5,000,000 to the dollar; when I reached New York again in September it was 150,000,000. All this within eight weeks! Such a situation seems a joke to the American tourist but means hunger and despair for the great rank and file of the middle class.

In some countries the Protestant groups, being small minorities, are subject indirectly to discriminations that weaken the Church still further on the economic side and threaten its very existence. The Reformed Church in Roumania is made up of Hungarians who before the Versailles Treaty were a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to the Peace Treaty equal treatment is guaranteed to all racial, linguistic and religious minorities. But, in the light of evidence too clear to admit of doubt, it appears that this provision of the Peace Treaty for the protection of minorities is practically nullified in Roumania by certain land-reform and housing legislation. If the land-reform bill, which professes to provide the landless peasants with the surplus of great landed estates, applied to all alike, no objection could be raised. But it does not. The law was issued in two different forms, one for the old territory

of Roumania, and the other for the new territory. In the case of the latter, but not the former, the law is confiscatory, providing that the landowner can retain a maximum of only 500 acres of arable land, which may be reduced even to 30 acres. And the owner is indemnified at the rate of 1914 prices, which, due to the collapse of the currency, is not more than one-five-hundredth part of present values. This process of expropriation threatens not only to impoverish the Protestant population of Transylvania but applies also to the landed property of the churches.

Against such incredible difficulties our fellow-Christians in Europe are struggling heroically. But they must have help, generous and immediate.

To deal in any effective way with this problem obviously requires some central agency in Europe, and it is now at hand in the Central Bureau for the Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe. It has the confidence of our fellow Christians in Europe. It was warmly endorsed by the meeting at Zurich of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. But the Bureau cannot do its work without the most generous support from the American Churches. To come to the help of European Protestantism in the hour when it is facing the greatest crisis of modern times is as clear a duty as to maintain foreign missionary stations in Asia. It is a ground of great satisfaction that Rev. Chauncey W. Goodrich, the honored pastor of the American Church in Paris for many years, is now to be in this country, associated with the Federal Council as the representative of the European Churches, seeking for them the help which the American churches should rejoice to give.

The Church and World Peace.

Such a situation as that which exists in Europe means that the Church has a direct and vital interest in the political and economic condition of Europe. The economic collapse of great nations of millions of people imperils the very existence of the institutions of organized Christianity in their midst. The prevalent attitude of distrust, fear and hatred between nations has its influence on the Churches of these nations, making it immeasurably more difficult for them to maintain relations of mutual helpfulness and goodwill. More important still, the very Gospel which the Church has for the world will fail to have anything like its full power so long as the relations of nations are organized on principles which are directly contrary to the spirit and teaching of the Gospel.

The strongest impression that one carries away from the Europe of today is of the horror and wickedness and futility of war. After a war to end war and with Germany disarmed, there are more armed men in Europe today than before the war. The cost of armaments is greater than ever before. Great areas of Central Europe are face to face with virtual bankruptcy. Stark hunger strides through whole nations. Revolution is imminent. Even the conqueror nations have only dust and ashes as the fruit of victory. In England a million and a quarter men were officially reported as totally out of work on Sept. 1, due largely to the fact that the disorganized economic life on the Continent has destroyed England's market. France, in another way, is facing an even graver problem. It counted on Germany's paying the cost of both the war and of damage done to civilian property, and now at the end it is found that the total destruction was so great that it is beyond Germany's capacity to pay.

America and the Tragedy of Central Europe.

Almost equally strong is the impression that anyone who really understands the situation in Europe today, and who at the same time believes in the

Christian Gospel, cannot conceivably advocate for America a policy of aloofness. It is no figure of speech to say that the Continent of Europe is threatened with the eclipse of its civilization. That Germany will be swept by revolution before the winter, unless some accord on reparations can be found, is the well-nigh unanimous judgment of the most trustworthy American residents there.

And revolution, when it comes, may not stop at national boundaries. The whole continent of Europe may be engulfed unless some relief be quickly found. If a chaotic Europe is the result, will it have no effect on America? Will there then be no "entanglements" to face?

What, then, is America to do? It is easy to say that Europe has brought the disaster on herself and must "fry in her own fat." Such an attitude is not only unchristian; it is also short-sighted and impracticable. The world today is too much one, the nations are too interdependent economically, for one nation to prosper long while another suffers. Some day we will awake to the fact that so long as Europe cannot buy our surplus products there will be no full prosperity for American agriculture and business. The Church's concern, however, lies on a wholly different level than loss of American business. It is that America should not lose her soul! To stand aloof through selfish indifference would mean for us a spiritual wreckage, worse than any physical disaster that Europe faces.

The plain fact now seems to be that there is no real solution of the reparations issue until the United States is willing to consider adjustment in the interallied debts, which demands, from America, a spirit of sacrifice. No other conclusion is possible when one realizes that the indebtedness of the Allies to America today is almost as great as the total amount, which, in the judgment of the best economists, Germany can reasonably be expected to pay. American people should cease from acrimonious criticism of either France or Germany and direct their attention to their own attitude. France insists that she must have from Germany at least enough to defray the cost of rebuilding the devastated regions and to repay her debts to the United States and England. The justice of that claim no one can deny. England declares that she must receive from either France or Germany enough to pay her debt to the United States and that she will sacrifice the rest. What then? The solution lies largely in our hands, as the richest creditor nation. What right have we to demand that France make concessions to Germany when we are ourselves unwilling to make concessions to France?

It is not a question as to whether we are to become involved in the European tangle or not; we are involved already. We cannot avoid the issue by hiding our face in the sand. If we take an inflexible attitude toward the debts, insisting Shylock-wise on our pound of flesh, we may indirectly be forcing the ruin of Germany. Which God forbid!

If the United States would say clearly and unequivocally to the nations of Europe, "If an agreement to abandon present military programs can be reached, we are ready, in the interest of peace and reconstruction, to sit down with you around the table and reopen the whole question of indebtedness as well as reparations," a new light would shine into the present darkness. Until we are ready to do that, what right has America to play the part of the Pharisee? She would do better not to be saying, "I thank Thee I am not as other nations are," but to examine her own attitude and say, "God be merciful to me, a sinner."

The more one studies the situation the more he is forced to the con-

clusion that a generous and sacrificial spirit on the part of America is an indispensable requisite for a real solution. Here, then, is a direct duty of the Church. It has always declared that a spirit of unselfishness, of readiness for sacrifice, lies at the heart of the Christian way of life. To whom may we look to cultivate that attitude in our international policy if not to the Church?

The Church and International Cooperation

And more than this the Church must do. For the old vicious merry-go-round of preparation for war still goes on. The old sense of insecurity and fear remains. Every nation, beyond question, would like to be free from the nightmare but none dares to disarm alone and all together seem impotent to reach any concerted program. So trust is in the mailed fist as before. The nations still follow the way of Napoleon and the Kaiser instead of the way of the Man of Galilee.

There is only one way out. The Churches of every nation must teach its people that war is a crime, the utter denial of everything for which the Churches stand. They must declare that murder is murder, even when ordered by the state, that the moral law is as binding on nations as on individuals, that in the relations of nations as of individuals reason and justice, determined by an impartial tribunal, must supplant the resort to naked force, that to the development of agencies of international cooperation must be given the energy that nations have hitherto given to preparation for war.

The American Churches and the World Court

How any one can visit The Hague, where the Permanent Court of International Justice is now sitting, and Geneva, where the League of Nations is at work, and observe these two international agencies dispassionately, without feeling that here a new creative force is at work, it is difficult to imagine.

In the Permanent Court one sees an agency that may be of epochal significance. Here for the first time is an international tribunal meeting in regular sessions, gradually building up a body of recognized international law so that the same moral standards that apply to individuals may be made binding upon states. The Court, it is true, is not yet entrusted with jurisdiction by the great powers only when they voluntarily submit cases to it. Until the nations recognize its affirmative jurisdiction over every dispute, it will not be able to play its full part in substituting reason for force as the arbitrator of international affairs. But the Court, as it is, is a far step ahead and it is sheer folly not to build upon the foundation already laid. Here is a great Christian ideal coming to practical expression. For America to refuse its support is to stand against the advance of humanity to a higher level of moral life. To think of the Court in terms of partisan politics, would be to trifle like an insane man with the future of the world. More than anything else today the Court needs the full support of America, which, more than any other great power, is able to bring a measure of disinterested impartiality that would be of inestimable value. The Federal Council has no clearer duty at the present hour than to use all its resources in creating public opinion in America in support of the World Court.

The Churches and the League of Nations

The League of Nations may be but partially fulfilling its ideals - it can hardly be more than half-a-League so long as the strongest and richest nation sits apart - but certainly it is the most hopeful thing in Europe. When

one sees the welter of suspicion and distrust and hatred that characterizes much of Europe today, he has to admit that from one angle a strong case can be made for American isolation, - except for one fact, fundamental and far-reaching. And that fact is that in every one of these European countries, as in America, there is a group of earnest, forward-looking, idealistic and unselfish men who are working for a better day, struggling to build up international cooperation in the place of competitive armaments and strife. And these men - this is the significant thing - are the men who are the backbone of the League of Nations. It is not the imperialists and the militarists but liberals like Lord Robert Cecil, Dr. Nansen, Paul Hymans, General Smuts, who are throwing their support to the League. The question for America is whether we will reenforce these liberal and forward-looking groups in the European countries or whether, by remaining coldly aloof, we shall let the forces of the old order prevail.

Certainly the work of the League thus far should have dispelled the bogey of a "super-state". It has followed the method of conference, of discussion, of meeting together in an atmosphere of frankness and has trusted wholly to the reasonableness of the decisions thus reached to secure their adoption. What it has been able to accomplish in this quiet way is already an achievement of no inconsiderable significance. If anyone asks for a concrete example, let him go to Austria. Two years ago it was on the verge of dissolution. This summer I found it optimistic and hopeful. An international loan has been raised, the currency has been stabilized, the public debt is being reduced, a nation is saved - an accomplishment that would have been wholly impossible without some international agency like the League. It is now hoped that a similar procedure may be agreed upon in the case of Hungary.

Or take the even more recent Italo-Greek crisis. I was in Athens only a few days before its outbreak, and so know something of the tenseness of feeling in Greek political circles today. Throughout Europe it is generally believed that if there had not been an international body like the League to which Greece could appeal and which could focus public opinion, the Italian ultimatum would have precipitated war before processes of conciliation and arbitration could have been set to work.

To espouse the League just as it is may not be the Church's task but surely it is its clear responsibility to insist that an issue so freighted with destiny for mankind shall not be made a matter of partisan politics or decided on the basis of its probable effect on the success of one party or the other in an election. Committed by its Gospel to the ideal of international brotherhood, the Church can do no less than urge constantly that our government has the moral duty either to associate itself with the League, with whatever reservations may be regarded by our people as necessary and wise, as the best attempt so far to give practical expression to the Christian ideal, or else present to the world a superior substitute.

The Situation in the Near East

No part of the summer was more rewarding than the two weeks in the Near East. They brought invaluable insights into the problem of relief and into the situation in the Churches of the Orthodox Eastern faith. The conditions in this part of the world are so different from those in Western and Central Europe that it is necessary to give them a separate consideration.

Near East Relief

Wherever one travels in the Near East today he meets most eloquent

testimony to the superb service rendered by Near East Relief. Most vivid of all is the evidence of thousands of orphaned children, now safe and happy in well-kept orphanages, and of other thousands of penniless but grateful Armenian and Greek refugees, most of whom would today be in unknown graves but for the merciful work of Near East Relief. Almost equally moving is the open gratitude of the Greek nation as a whole, and of what would be today the Armenian nation except for the tragic injustice of recent history.

The affection of a whole people for America, as a result of what has been done, you may observe anywhere, in low quarters or high. I sat in a train beside a Greek farmer, who could speak only broken words of English. "You American? America good to us." The Archbishop of the Orthodox Greek Church, Prime Minister Gonatas, Col. Plastiras (the Chief of the so-called Revolution) and even His Majesty, King George, spoke to me, as the main subject of conversation, of their appreciation for what the American people had done for Greece. His Grace, the Archbishop, declared that he saw in the work of Near East Relief a great indication of the spiritual power and vitality of the American Churches. The King said: "Tell your people we shall not forget how they helped us in our hour of terrible need."

A unique demonstration of this gratitude occurred at the time of President Harding's death, while I was in Athens. In spite of the fact that the Government of the United States and the Government of Greece are still in a technical state of severed diplomatic relations, the Greek refugees, with the help of the Government and their Church, planned a memorial service to our President as an expression of their grief for the loss of one who was the symbol of American friendship. It was a memorable sight. Packed into the Cathedral were thousands of reverent refugees, while other thousands of refugees and orphans thronged the square outside. One wonders whether amid all the notable memorial services held throughout the world any would have been more gratifying to the President than this spontaneous tribute, in the liturgy of a foreign church of affection for the people of whom he was the head.

Upon the Turkish nation also the work of Near East Relief has not been without its effect. The impression of unselfish humanitarian service made by Near East Relief has been so strong that during all these months of ferment and turmoil, the organization has been able to maintain its central office in Constantinople and to carry on there its program of saving the victims of Near East politics. On my last evening in Constantinople the Turkish High Commissioner, Adnan Bey, came to dinner with a group of the Near East Relief personnel and showed no other feeling than that of appreciative recognition of the spirit of its work.

Wrapped up in this work of relief is something that may well prove to be of greater significance even than the saving of physical life. For the boys and girls who are today our wards in these orphanages are a part of the Near East of the coming generation, perhaps the decisive part so far as the higher life of this chaotic area of the world is concerned. To train fifty thousand children under the influence of devoted Christian workers and then to send these young people back into the towns and cities with that spirit of service to the Near East that was responsible for their salvation, is to do the greatest thing imaginable in the building of a new Near East. The work of Near East Relief is, in the widest sense of the word, a great missionary enterprise, a mighty reinforcement of the noble task begun decades ago by the mission boards and by agencies like Robert College, the University at Beirut and the Constantinople College for Women.

What of the Future?

And, as one who has been in the Near East clearly sees, the work begun by Near East Relief as an emergency measure, must be carried on for several years. To drop it now would be to knock the props from under a structure in the rearing. The work can, of course, be gradually reduced. The feeding of twenty-five thousand refugees, which has been such a strain upon the organization during the past year, is at last at the point where it can be discontinued. Generous help, however, from some quarter and through some agency, will be needed in helping the Armenian refugees, now left without a home anywhere in the world, to become established in Russian Armenia, so far as they may care to go there. Likewise will help be needed in securing American support for Greece in her heroic effort to care for more than a million refugees landed almost overnight upon her shores. As for the orphans, who constitute the central problem of Near East Relief, some of the older ones have already been taught enough so that they are going out to earn their own support on farms or at a trade. But there are thousands of children under five or six years of age. There are even little babies, orphaned as a result of the expulsions from Asia Minor within two years. No one who knows the situation in the Near East could think for a moment that we can withdraw our support now. To do so would be to throw away the harvest of the seed that has been so patiently and carefully sown.

The service of the Near East Relief is a symbol of the heart of America, of America at its best. There are many Americas. A political America, which has not yet played its full part in preventing war and building up international cooperation. An economic America, which has its eyes riveted only on trade advantages to be secured in the Near East and elsewhere. But there is also an idealistic, a humanitarian, a religious America - and this America is finding magnificent expression in its work of mercy in the Near East. Weighed in the scales of the future it will be this America of which we and our children shall be proud.

Our Relations with the Orthodox Eastern Church.

No thoughtful observer can be long in the Near East and meet some of its spiritual leaders without realizing that the Protestant Churches of the West know all too little of the Orthodox Eastern Church. He cannot help feeling keenly that here is a great part of the body of Christ with which we ought to have closer fellowship and cooperation.

We ought, in the first place, to recognize our debt, throughout past centuries, to the Eastern Church. It is a debt which began in the early period of Christianity when the Greek intellect gave theological formulation to our faith. It is a debt which has continued through the Middle Ages and since as the Orthodox Churches have stood as a bulwark against the westward advance of Islam.

And not to the past alone, but to the present hour may one look to see the strength and the power of the Eastern Church. Certainly there is a current of quickened life flowing through great sections of it today. This has been unmistakable in the informal conferences which it was my privilege to hold with some of the outstanding figures in the Orthodox Churches, including the Acting Patriarch of the Greek Church at Constantinople, the Acting Patriarch of the Armenian Church, Archbishop Anastasis of the Russian Church in Constantinople, and Chrysostom, the newly consecrated Metropolitan of Athens. These, and others whom one might mention, such as the Metropolitan of Saloniki, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, and Bishop Nicholai of Serbia (so well known in America) represent a

deeply spiritual and forward-looking leadership, with whom we should count it a joy and a privilege to develop the closest relations of fellowship and helpfulness.

Of course there are obvious weaknesses in the Orthodox Church, as we see it today, its traditionalism, its over-emphasis on ritualism, the lack of education among the clergy. But if one is tempted to pass a final judgment in the light of these things alone, let him recall for how many centuries these Near Eastern Churches have either been in bondage politically to Islam or struggling to keep themselves alive in a hostile environment. The wonder is not that there are things which may be criticized but that Christian faith and spiritual life survive such obstacles and that the Church still has, as it has always had, a mighty hold upon the hearts and lives of the people.

Certainly whatever we in the West are to do FOR the Orthodox Churches we must do THROUGH these Churches, - not by proselyting among them. The Protestant leaders with whom I talked in Constantinople and Athens, almost without exception, share this opinion. Indeed, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in association with Robert College, has already put into operation a remarkable plan of cooperation with the Orthodox leaders in training priests and workers for their Churches. In "The School of Religion," as this project at Constantinople is called, opened a year ago, there were more than a score of students from the Greek, Armenian, Russian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches, together with several Protestant students. The Orthodox students came with the full endorsement and support of their bishops, who realize today the need for such help as the American Churches can give. The instruction in the liturgy and Church history is given by leaders of the Orthodox faith, while courses in the Bible, religious education, social service and other subjects are given by American teachers. It is hoped that this School of Religion may ultimately become a union effort, including in its scope all the Protestant Churches carrying on work in any part of the Near East, and always developing in the fullest cooperation with the Orthodox Churches themselves. Here is a superb pioneering enterprise, deserving the support of the whole of American Protestantism and demonstrating the practicability of closer relations between Near Eastern and Western Christianity in every realm of activity.

Another concrete project for cooperation, the significance of which can hardly be exaggerated, presents itself in the task of religious education for the Greek and Armenian children in the Near East orphanages. Why should not a program be arranged by the joint action of American Protestant leaders and the highest officials of the Greek and Armenian Churches, which would ensure that by a cooperative program the children shall be brought up in the Orthodox Faith, with all that the Churches of the West can contribute through greater familiarity with modern methods of religious education and character building? To develop such a program might open the way to a new relationship with the Orthodox Churches in the whole realm of their life in the future.

The Present Opportunity

Never was a moment more opportune than the present for developing such cooperation between the Orthodox Churches and Protestantism. Their leaders are now turning to us for sympathy and practical help. They are grateful for what has already been done by American Christianity, - for the service of revered leaders like Dr. Peet, of the American Board, who, I was told, was one of the most trusted advisers of Patriarch Meletios of the Greek Church: for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, with which Orthodox leaders have cooperated heartily; for the special interest of the Episcopal Church, which has

made many of our Western Churchmen known to them; for the mission of mercy carried on by Near East Relief; for the efforts of the Federal Council of the Churches in behalf of justice for the minorities in the Near East. For these and other reasons there is a surprising interest throughout the Near East in the American Churches. Every one of the Orthodox leaders with whom I spoke welcomed eagerly the suggestion of closer contacts in the future.

As a representative of the cooperative work of the American Evangelical Churches it was a special satisfaction to me to discover that several of these Orthodox leaders already knew of the Federal Council of the Churches, understood something of the united movement for which it stands, and were grateful for what it had done for the Near East. The Armenian Patriarch spoke feelingly of the service of the Council to his people and pleaded for future help. The Acting Patriarch of the Greek Church knew of the Council's effort in behalf of the refugees and of the message to the first Lausanne Conference protesting against the proposal to expel the patriarchate from Constantinople. The Metropolitan of Athens said that he read the Federal Council Bulletin and was watching the development of the Council with deep interest. In his inaugural address at the time of his recent consecration he urged, among other wise policies, the "establishment of friendly cooperation with all the Christian Churches throughout the world."

As steps in the further development of closer fellowship and helpfulness it would seem that the Protestant Churches of America, acting through the Federal Council as their agency for united effort, ought to serve as a center at least for:

1. Interpreting the Orthodox Churches to the West. First of all, the present ignorance and lack of understanding must be removed.
2. Expressing in every possible way the sympathy of the Western Churches toward the Eastern, and facilitating more personal contacts and more systematic communication with the Orthodox leaders in the Near East.
3. Giving practical assistance to the Orthodox Churches in such ways as they may deem helpful.
4. Developing a more regular consultative and cooperative relationship with the branches of the Orthodox Churches ministering to their own people in America.

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SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

MEMORANDUM

From S M Cavert

Date Oct 20, 1923

To Dr Speer, Dr. Macfarland

Subject Letter from Rev. H. Kamphausen, D.D.

The enclosed letter, which has just come to Dr. Speer seems to me to merit our careful attention.

Do you not think that if we are not prepared to make an appeal ourselves in behalf of the starving in Germany, we might at least reinforce by a proper statement, the work which is being carried on by the Quakers?

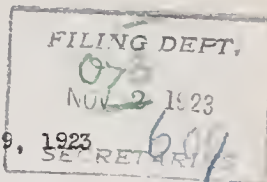
Of course the work which is being done in behalf of the Central Bureau is a partial reply, and about this Mr. Kamphausen ought to be informed, if he is not already familiar with its work, but I presume he has in mind a program of relief, not for the institutions or the churches, but for the people themselves.

I realize that we are treading on delicate ground, but it seems to me that it would be wise for us to give really serious attention to the problem of relief in Germany.

I have not answered the letter, since it is addressed directly to Dr. Speer and seems to be important enough to warrant some consideration before a reply is given.

THEOLOGICAL MAGAZINE
OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH
Rev. H. Kamphausen, D.D., Editor

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Oct. 19, 1923



Dr. Robert E. Speer,
Pres., Federal Council,
New York City.

My dear Sir:

At the "Special Meeting" of the Federal Council, held at Washington, D.C., May 7-9, 1917, most beautiful resolutions were passed. For my purpose today I would only quote the last sentence (see Report of Spec.Meeting p.24): "With this hope we would join hands with all men of goodwill of every land and race, to rebuild on this war-ridden and desolated earth the commonwealth of Mankind, and to make of the kingdoms of the world the Kingdom of the Christ."

I will not at this hour raise the question again as to how the F.C. has endeavored to carry out the splendid principles adopted at that meeting, and how far it has succeeded in this task.

My intention and fervent desire is only to get the cooperation of the Federal Council in an appeal for a country-wide relief work for the starving millions of the cities of Germany. The daily press offers the most casual observer abundant proof of the famine conditions which have their grip upon the masses as well as upon the middle classes of the population. Food riots are the order of the day. Thousands of people, driven to desperation by hunger, in many cases led by frantic women, try to storm the city hall or the exchanges in a vain attempt to get relief from the intolerable and hopeless struggle for bare existence. In hundreds of instances stores are broken open and rifled of their goods. A worthless paper money makes it impossible for the government to extend help. Winter is coming. The price of coal is out of reach of the ordinary man. If help does not come from Anglo-Saxon countries, so we are told, millions of children will starve to death!

The Christian Science Monitor is the first great daily paper to make a strong appeal for help (2 days ago).

Has the great Protestant Church of America nothing to say? Does the Federal Council, the spokesman of more than 30 denominations, heed the call of the hour? It has led the campaign for Armenians and Syrians' relief: are the Armenians and Syrians of Asia closer to us than the Protestants of Germany? I implore you, dear brother, to put yourself at the head of this work of mercy. How can we, "on this war-ridden earth, rebuild the commonwealth of mankind" unless we keep the people, first of all, alive?

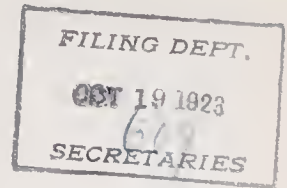
Trusting that you will be the first of the churchmen to make a breach in the stone wall of indifference and hatred that shuts out Central Europe from the feelings of brotherhood in the American people, I commend this cause and all its supporters to the mercy of Almighty God.

Yoursincerely,

H. KAMPHAUSEN

Release, October 23

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22d Street, New York, N.Y.



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How Europe Looks to an American Churchman

By Samuel McCrea Cavert
General Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches

One learns to distrust the man, who, as he steps off the gangplank on his return from six weeks in Europe, proceeds to tell his countrymen the last word on conditions across the sea, to propound a full solution of international questions, and to give authoritative advice as to what should be America's policy toward Europe. It is with no such attitude that I record these observations. They are simply the personal impressions made upon one who has gone to Europe for the first time since the war and who has tried to study the situation with impartial eyes.

The strongest impression that one carries away from the Europe of today is of the appalling disaster and the futility of war. After a war to end war and with Germany disarmed, there are more armed men in Europe today than before the war. The cost of armaments is greater than ever before. Great areas of Central Europe are face to face with virtual bankruptcy. Stark hunger strides through whole nations. Even the conqueror nations have only dust and ashes as the fruit of victory. In England a million and a quarter men were officially reported as totally out of work on Sept. 1, due largely to the fact that the disorganized economic life on the Continent has destroyed England's market. France, in another way, is facing an even graver problem. It counted on Germany's paying the cost both of the war and of damage done to civilian property, and now at the end it is found that the total destruction was so great that it is beyond Germany's capacity to pay.

In Germany the situation of the middle class as a whole is heartrending. Especially is the lot of the old tragic beyond words. The utter collapse of the mark means that the competence which they had saved for their declining years is swept away. The amount that meant a comfortable income for their declining years will now not buy a single loaf of bread. On July 23, when our ship reached Hamburg, the mark stood at 1,200,000 to the dollar; when I was there at the end of August it was around 5,000,000 to the dollar; when I reached New York again in September it was 150,000,000. All this within eight weeks! Such a situation seems a joke to the American tourist but means hunger and despair for the great rank and file of the middle class.

The Church and the Tragedy of Central Europe.

Almost equally strong is the impression that anyone who really understands the situation in Europe today, and who at the same time believes in the Christian Gospel, cannot conceivably advocate for America a policy of aloofness. It is no figure of speech to say that the Continent of Europe is threatened with the eclipse of its civilization. That Germany will be swept by revolution before the winter, unless some accord on reparations can be found, is the well-nigh unanimous judgment of the most trustworthy American residents there. And revolution, when it comes, may not stop at national boundaries. The whole Continent of Europe may be engulfed unless some relief be quickly found. If a

chaotic Europe is the result, will it have no effect on America? Will there then be no "entanglements" to face?

What, then, is America to do? It is easy to say that Europe has brought the disaster on herself and must "fry in her own fat." Such an attitude is not only unchristian; it is also short-sighted and impracticable. The world today is too much one, the nations are too interdependent economically, for one nation to prosper long while another suffers. Some day we will awake to the fact that so long as Europe cannot buy our surplus products there will be no full prosperity for American agriculture and business. The Church's concern, however, lies on a wholly different level than loss of American business. It is that America should not lose her soul! To stand aloof through selfish indifference would mean for us a spiritual wreckage, worse than any physical disaster that Europe faces.

The plain fact now seems to be that there is no real solution of the reparations issue until the United States is willing to consider adjustment in the interallied debts, which demands, from America, a spirit of sacrifice. No other conclusion is possible when one realizes that the indebtedness of the Allies to America today is almost as great as the total amount, which, in the judgment of the best economists, Germany can reasonably be expected to pay. American people should cease from acrimonious criticism of either France or Germany and direct their attention to their own attitude. France insists that she must have from Germany at least enough to defray the cost of rebuilding the devastated regions and to repay her debts to the United States and England. The justice of that claim no one can deny. England declares that she must receive from either France or Germany enough to pay her debt to the United States and that she will sacrifice the rest. What then? The solution lies largely in our hands, as the richest creditor nation. What right have we to demand that France make concessions to Germany when we are ourselves unwilling to make concessions to France?

It is not a question as to whether we are to become involved in the European tangle or not; we are involved already. We cannot avoid the issue by hiding our face in the sand. If we take an inflexible attitude toward the debts, insisting Shylock-wise on our pound of flesh, we may indirectly be forcing the ruin of Germany. Which God forbid!

If the United States would say clearly and unequivocally to the nations of Europe, "If an agreement to abandon present military programs can be reached, we are ready, in the interest of peace and reconstruction, to sit down with you around the table and reopen the whole question of indebtedness as well as reparations," a new light would shine into the present darkness. Until we are ready to do that, what right has America to play the part of the Pharisee? She would do better not to be saying, "I thank Thee I am not as other nations are," but to examine her own attitude and say, "God be merciful to me, a sinner."

The more one studies the situation the more he is forced to the conclusion that a generous and sacrificial spirit on the part of America is an indispensable requisite for a real solution. Here, then, is a direct duty of the Church. It has always declared that a spirit of unselfishness, of readiness for sacrifice, lies at the heart of the Christian way of life. To whom may we look to cultivate that attitude in our international policy if not to the Church?

The Church and International Cooperation

And more than this the Church must do. For the old vicious merry-go-round of preparation for war still goes on. The old sense of insecurity and fear remains. Every nation, beyond question, would like to be free from the nightmare but none dares to disarm alone and all together seem impotent to reach any concerted program. So trust is in the mailed fist as before. The nations still follow the way of Napoleon and the Kaiser instead of the way of the Man of Galilee.

There is only one way out. The Churches of every nation must teach its people that war is a crime, the utter denial of everything for which the Churches stand. They must declare that murder is murder, even when ordered by the state; that the moral law is as binding on nations as on individuals; that in the relations of nations, as of individuals, reason and justice, determined by an impartial tribunal, must supplant the resort to naked force; that to the development of agencies of international cooperation must be given the energy that nations have hitherto given to preparation for war.

The Church and the World Court

How any one can visit the Hague, where the Permanent Court of International Justice is now sitting, and Geneva, where the League of Nations is at work, and observe these two international agencies dispassionately, without feeling that here a new creative force is at work, it is difficult to imagine.

In the Permanent Court one sees an agency that may be of epochal significance. Here for the first time is an international tribunal meeting in regular sessions, gradually building up a body of recognized international law so that the same moral standards that apply to individuals may be made binding upon states. The Court, it is true, is as yet entrusted with jurisdiction by the great powers only when they voluntarily submit cases to it. Until the nations recognize its affirmative jurisdiction over every dispute, it will not be able to play its full part in substituting reason for force as the arbitrament of international affairs. But the Court, as it is, is a far step ahead and it is sheer folly not to build upon the foundation already laid. Here is a great Christian ideal coming to practical expression. For America to refuse its support is to stand against the advance of humanity to a higher level of moral life. To think of the Court in terms of partisan politics, would be to trifle like an insane man with the future of the world. More than anything else today the Court needs the full support of America, which, more than any other great power, is able to bring a measure of disinterested impartiality that would be of inestimable value. The Churches in America have no clearer duty at the present hour than to use all their resources in creating public opinion in America in support of the World Court.

The Church and the League of Nations

The League of Nations may be weak and halting - it can hardly be more than half-a-League so long as the strongest and richest nation sits apart - but certainly it is the most hopeful thing in Europe. When one sees the welter of suspicion and distrust and hatred that characterizes much of Europe today, he has to admit that from one angle a strong case can be made for American isolation. Except for one fact, fundamental and far-reaching. And that fact is that in every one of these European countries, as in America, there is a group of earnest, forward-looking, idealistic and unselfish men who are working for a

better day, struggling to build up international cooperation in the place of competitive armaments and strife. And these men - this is the significant thing - are the men who are the backbone of the League of Nations. It is not the imperialists and the militarists but liberals like Lord Robert Cecil, Dr. Nansen, Paul Hymans, General Smuts, who are throwing their support to the League. The question for America is whether we will reenforce these liberal and forward-looking groups in the European countries or whether, by remaining coldly aloof, we shall let the forces of the old order prevail.

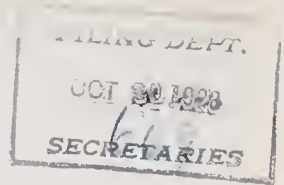
Certainly the work of the League thus far should have dispelled the bogey of a "super-state". It has followed the method of conference, of discussion, of meeting together in an atmosphere of frankness and has trusted wholly to the reasonableness of the decisions thus reached to secure their adoption. What it has been able to accomplish in this quiet way is already an achievement of no inconsiderable significance. If anyone asks for a concrete example, let him go to Austria. Two years ago it was on the verge of dissolution. This summer I found it optimistic and hopeful. An international loan has been raised, the currency has been stabilized, the public debt is being reduced, a nation is saved - an accomplishment that would have been wholly impossible without some international agency like the League.

Or take the even more recent Italo-Greek crisis. I was in Athens only a few days before its outbreak, and so know something of the tenseness of feeling in Greek political circles today. Throughout Europe it is generally believed that if there had not been an international body like the League to which Greece could appeal and which could focus public opinion, the Italian ultimatum would have precipitated war before processes of conciliation and arbitration could have been set to work.

To espouse the League just as it is may not be the Church's task but surely it is its clear responsibility to insist that an issue so freighted with destiny for mankind shall not be decided on the basis of its probable effect on party success at the polls. Committed by its Gospel to the ideal of international brotherhood, the Church can do no less than urge with all its power that our government has the moral duty either to associate itself with the League, with whatever reservations may be regarded by our people as necessary and wise, as the best attempt so far to give practical expression to the Christian ideal, or else present to the world a superior substitute.

Release October 30, 1923

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22d Street, New York, N.Y.



RECT How the Orthodox Eastern Church Looks to an American Churchman

OCT 17 1923

By Samuel McCrea Cavert, General Secretary,
Federal Council of the Churches

Mr. Speer

No thoughtful observer can be long in the Near East and meet some of its spiritual leaders without realizing that the Protestant Churches of the West know all too little of the Orthodox Eastern Church. He cannot help feeling keenly that here is a great part of the body of Christ with which we ought to have closer fellowship and cooperation.

We ought, in the first place, to recognize our debt, throughout past centuries, to the Eastern Church. It is a debt which began in the early period of Christianity when the Greek intellect gave theological formulation to our faith. It is a debt which has continued through the Middle Ages and since, as the Orthodox Churches have stood as a bulwark against the westward advance of Islam.

Spiritually Minded Leaders

And not to the past alone, but to the present hour may one look to see the strength and the power of the Eastern Church. Certainly there is a current of quickened life flowing through great sections of it today. This has been unmistakable in the informal conferences which it was my privilege to hold with some of the outstanding figures in the Orthodox Churches, including the Acting Patriarch of the Greek Church at Constantinople, the Acting Patriarch of the Armenian Church, Archbishop Anastasis of the Russian Church in Constantinople, and Chrysostom, the newly consecrated Metropolitan of Athens. These, and others whom one might mention, such as the Metropolitan of Saloniki, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, and Bishop Nicholai of Serbia represent a deeply spiritual and forward-looking leadership with whom we should count it a joy and a privilege to develop the closest relations of fellowship and helpfulness.

Of course there are obvious weaknesses in the Orthodox Church, as we see it on the surface, its traditionalism, its over-emphasis on ritualism, the lack of education among the clergy. But if one is tempted to pass a final judgment in the light of these things alone, let him recall for how many centuries these Near Eastern Churches have either been in bondage politically to Islam or struggling to keep themselves alive in a hostile environment. The wonder is not that there are things which may be criticized but that Christian faith and spiritual life survive such obstacles and that the Church still has, as it has always had, a mighty hold upon the hearts and lives of the people.

First Steps in Cooperation

Certainly whatever we in the West are to do FOR the Orthodox Churches we must do THROUGH these Churches - not by proselyting among them. The Protestant leaders with whom I talked in Constantinople and Athens, almost without exception, share this opinion. Indeed, the American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions, in association with Robert College, has already put into operation a remarkable plan of cooperation with the Orthodox leaders in training priests and workers for their Churches. In "The School of Religion," as this project at Constantinople is called, opened a year ago, there were more than a score of students from the Greek, Armenian, Russian and Bulgarian Orthodox Churches, together with several Protestant students. The Orthodox students came with the full endorsement and support of their bishops, who realize today the need for such help as the American Churches can give. The instruction in the liturgy and Church history is given by leaders of the Orthodox faith, while courses in the Bible, religious education, social service and other subjects are given by American teachers. It is hoped that this School of Religion may ultimately become a union effort, including in its scope all the Protestant Churches carrying on work in any part of the Near East, and always developing in the fullest cooperation with the Orthodox Churches themselves. Here is a superb pioneering enterprise, deserving the support of the whole of American Protestantism and demonstrating the practicability of closer relations between Near Eastern and Western Christianity in every realm of activity.

Another concrete project for cooperation, the significance of which can hardly be exaggerated, presents itself in the task of religious education for the Greek and Armenian children in the Near East orphanages. Why should not a program be arranged by the joint action of American Protestant leaders and the highest officials of the Greek and Armenian Churches, which would ensure that by a cooperative program the children shall be brought up in the Orthodox Faith, with all that the Churches of the West can contribute through greater familiarity with modern methods of religious education and character building? To develop such a program now might open the way to a new relationship with the Orthodox Churches in their whole life in the future.

The Present Opportunity

Never was a moment more opportune than the present for developing such cooperation between the Orthodox Churches and Protestantism. Their leaders are now turning to us for sympathy and practical help. They are grateful for what has already been done by American Christianity, - for the service of revered leaders like Dr. Peet, of the American Board, who has been one of the most trusted advisers of Patriarch Meletios of the Greek Church; for the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, with which Orthodox leaders have cooperated heartily; for the special interest of the Episcopal Church, which has made many of our Western Churchmen known in the Orthodox Church; for the mission of mercy carried on by Near East Relief; for the efforts of the Federal Council of the Churches in behalf of justice for the minorities in the Near East. For these and other reasons there is a surprising interest throughout the Near East in the American Churches. Every one of the Orthodox leaders with whom I spoke welcomed eagerly the suggestion of closer contacts in the future. The Metropolitan of Athens in his inaugural address at the time of his recent consecration, officially urged, among other wise policies, the "establishment of friendly cooperation with all the Christian Churches throughout the world."

As steps in the further development of closer fellowship and helpfulness it would seem that the Protestant Churches of America, acting through the Federal Council as their agency for united effort, ought to serve as a center for at least the following program.

1. Interpreting the Orthodox Churches to the West. First of all, the present ignorance and lack of understanding must be removed.

2. Expressing in every possible way the sympathy of the Western Churches toward the Eastern, and facilitating more personal contacts and more systematic communication with the Orthodox leaders in the Near East.

3. Giving practical assistance to the Orthodox Churches in such ways as they may deem helpful.

4. Developing a more regular consultative and cooperative relationship with the branches of the Orthodox Churches ministering to their own people in America.

S. M. Caverd.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

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Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of Chris-
tian Social Service

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

9

Dec. 17, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

Attached herewith is a summary of your address on Thurs-
day morning at Columbus. I am afraid that it is not very complete, but
at least the substance of it is there.

There have been a great many requests from the editors of
the religious press for a copy of this address, and I am exceedingly anxious
to put it in their hands as soon as possible. I am sure it will have a
wide printing, and, if so, it will serve a most valuable purpose.

Will you be good enough to revise it as soon as you can do
so in the midst of your other burdens, and return it to me?

Cordially yours,

S. M. Caverd

General Secretary.

S. M. Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

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JAN 10 1923
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SECRET

Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

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NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

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OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

DEC 21 1923

Mr. Speer

Dec. 20, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

I think you ought to see the attached telegram with a copy
of my reply. If you know Dr. Inglis you may want to add a word.

Cordially yours,

S. M. Cavert

General Secretary.

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COPY

Newark NJ Dec. 14 via Columbus Ohio

Dr. Robt Speer
105 East 22nd Street NewYork NY

I NEVER WAS A MEMBER OF ANY ANTI ROMANIST OR OTHER SECRET ORGANIZATION
AM EXCLUDED BY BIRTH FROM MEMBERSHIP IN THE KU KLUX KLAN BUT I WANT TO
PROTEST AGAINST FEDERATION UNDERTAKING TO SPEAK FOR ALL THE CHURCHES
ON A DISPUTED SUBJECT IN WHICH NO VOTE HAS BEEN TAKEN

ROBERT SCOTT INGLIS

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
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(Consultative Body)

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JAN 10 1924
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SECRETARIES

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

Dec. 20, 1923.

Rev. Robert Scott Inglis,
393 Ridge Street,
Newark, N.J.

My dear Dr. Inglis:

Your telegram addressed to Dr. Speer, as President of the Federal Council, has come to our office, and I am sending it at once to him for his information. Meanwhile, I am sending this letter of acknowledgment together with a word of explanation which, I am sure, you will be glad to have me make.

I judge from your telegram that you are under the impression that the Federal Council at the meeting of its Executive Committee in Columbus last week made an official attack upon the Ku Klux Klan. This was not the case. What happened was that Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, Superintendent of the Women's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (South) in the course of an address upon the opportunity of the churches, Negro and White, for promoting better relations between the races in this country, referred to the Ku Klux Klan as an organization which—even though not so intended—was having the effect of promoting misunderstanding and suspicion between the Negro and the White people. The newspaper people, of course, picked up this as the most sensational thing in the session, and sent it widely throughout the country. The statement by Mrs. Winsborough was simply made on her own personal responsibility, and, of course, she alone bears the responsibility for it.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the Federal Council Bulletin for October-November 1922, which prints the only statement which the Federal Council has ever made officially that bears upon the Ku Klux Klan. This statement, as you will note upon reading, is a careful and reserved declaration which does not mention the Klan by name, but points out the danger of organizations which have the effect of setting class against class or race against race. You will be interested to know that a very similar statement was made about the same time by the Southern Baptist Convention and a much stronger one by the National Council of the Episcopal Church.

Cordially yours,

S. M. Cavert
General Secretary.

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COPY OF CABLE GRAM

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Jerusalem Dec 23-23

LCO Fedcill NY

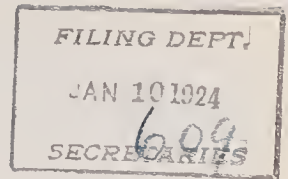
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,
105 East 22nd St Ny)

Convey best wishes for Xmas prosperous New Year same to all members your
committee may Almighty crown your efforts for mother of churches with full
success grant you health prosperity to enable you continue your God pleasing
work.

Patriarch Damianos

A E Cory

GORDON STREET CHURCH OF CHRIST
A. E. CORY MINISTER
KINSTON, N. C.



RECEIVED

(8)

December 18th, 1923.

Mr. Speer

Dr. Robt. E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Robt.:

Your letter of Dec. 8th regarding my speaking at our delightful dinner in Columbus did not reach me until after I got home. I am a little fearful from your letter that I did not cover just the points that you wanted covered. We had a wonderful dinner, and I want to thank you for it. I want to particularly thank you for the wonderful statement you made at the close of the discussion in the Council on Thursday morning. I think you have never been more guided by the spirit of our God than you were guided that morning.

It was good to see you again. With all good wishes, believe me, I am,

As ever,

AEC-a.

A E Cory
[Signature]

J. E. Cox

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JUL 13 1923

629
SECRETARIES

P. O. Box 225, Oklahoma City, Okla., Jan. 20 - 1923
Robert E. Speer, Pres. Fed Council of the C. of C. in America.

Christ's Elect in the battle of Armageddon will correct all errors in religion & government.

Therefore Brethren, why should the religious forces of the world error any longer in preparing to die for an imaginary Heaven after death, rather than join the Socialist movement & work to establish Heaven right here in our existence, that we may live in it with the Godhead & our posterity throughout eternity?

Facts worth knowing:

Socialism is a science under which the Truth, or real Christianity can exist.

The unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost is to deny the unquestionable Truth.

The unquestionable Truth is a fact that proves itself & a rational mind cannot deny it.

According to the philosophy & righteousness of Jesus Christ, His Elect must be non-resistant to evil, in order to overcome evil.

Please do not ignore, condemn, or deny me your support any longer. Fraternally, Rev. J. E. Cox.

To the Committee on Mexico
Federal Council of Churches
New York City:

O. W. F. ...
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SECRETARIES

I came to New York on September 6th, for when recognition was granted by the Government of the United States it seemed to me our hour had struck and that the time was ripe for a definite move looking toward international amity. That no finer form could be found for expressing to Mexico that good-will and desire to help her reconstruct her life and institutions than through an institution of higher learning is accepted on all sides. This made the project of a University in Mexico a definite proposal of truly great weight.

My first task seemed to be to get the mind of the men and women who had been interested in this proposition for many years. Certain Boards of Missions, the Committee on Cooperation, the Federal Council, and some individuals had from time to time taken in hand to carry forward some such project, but none had been able to get very far though good work had been done.

Then, too, there was a difference of opinion as to the exact form which the project should take. Some felt that it should be a definite missionary institution having direct relation to the Boards of Missions and become a part of their propaganda. Others felt that while it should be governed by a separate Board of Trustees, it should be soundly Christian in spirit and purpose. The Provisional Committee in Mexico City were largely, if not entirely, of this latter opinion.

It took me some weeks to bring about a practical working agreement between these interested factors, and, while there may not be complete conviction on the part of all, yet there seems to be a pretty definite working plan. This calls for an independent institution, backed by a board in the States and one in Mexico City, the members of which look upon this proposed center of learning as having at the fore the making of character and training of leaders: that the truly Christian spirit shall be possible through the careful choice of a faculty whose lives shall be powerful for Christian idealism.

As to the plan of the School there are differences of opinion, but in general the accepted plans call for A College of Education, An Institute of Public Health and Physical Training, Normal Institute of Industrial and Practical Arts, University Extension and Schools of Social Science, of Commerce and of Journalism. Probably a Junior College would have to be started almost from the first, but that too would wait upon larger funds and the demand. This is the general plan that has been worked out, striving to incorporate all the good points of many suggested plans and trying to emphasize the practical and meet the immediate need of Mexico for leaders and teachers.

One of the most helpful men in all that looks toward this project for Mexico, and one who has taken a very personal interest in it for some years is President Robert E. Vinson of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and the Hon. James R. Garfield of that city and Mexico City. Both of these men have been in direct contact with our committee in Mexico City. When Mr. Rider, one of our most active workers in Mexico City came to help me in this work here in New York he arranged a meeting here with Dr. Leach, Pres. Vinson and Mr. Garfield. As a result of this meeting it seemed wise for us to call in on the proposition Hon. Elihu Root, Dr. H. S. Pritchett, Dr. Keppel, Thomas W. Lamont, and some few others not already on the committee and related to the project or whose backing we knew could be counted on.

This move also grew out of the fact that we had discovered that to get what we should need for the project, the moral backing, if not the financial, of some of the large Foundations was necessary. The Boards of Missions could see no immediate hope of putting large sums into the project, and, if it is to be done as is needed, it will need large sums, and they ought to be forthcoming. It is the conviction of practically all who have looked into the project that it can be financed and but needs the start in a large way to assure success.

After these weeks of study, cultivation, interviews, preparing of literature, etc. etc. we have placed before the Carnegie Foundation and Dr. Bearsdley Ruml of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund our request. From some of the most influential of the directors of the former Foundation we have the practical assurance that they will make an investigation on our asking and on the basis of that we expect something that will be helpful. This will be backed up by men like Thomas W. Lamont, Elihu Root, President Vinson, Dr. Pritchett and others, and we believe that it will be well done and find that our project is thoroughly sound. Of that we have no misgivings. While this may take some time it is nevertheless most important, and practically all with whom I have talked, feel that without it we could not get far. With the backing of the Carnegie Foundation or that of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund we can feel sure that the future shall see an institution in Mexico that will express the very best of our good-will in the very best form.

I want to express to those with whom I have had the privilege of working during these weeks my very deep gratitude for cooperation, for encouragement, for what I hope has been done to further this project. To Dr. Henry Goddard Leach - through whom I believe my being in the city was made possible - I want to express special thanks, and to Dr. Macfarland, Dr. Inman, Dr. Gulick, and others who have taken time and special interest in making possible what we have accomplished. Without them it would not have been possible to have made even the attempt. That we have made some progress is largely due to them, and the cooperation of the men to whom I have referred in the paragraph above.

I shall have to return to Mexico City some weeks earlier than I had planned, but I am trying to leave things in such form as to make possible further action as soon as we shall know the result of the findings of the Carnegie Foundation. (The L. S. R. Fund will probably await their decision.)

I would recommend that the Committee keep in close touch with President R. E. Vinson and through him with those who are pressing the matter before the Foundation. He is in New York frequently and would be glad at a convenient time to meet with the group. As soon as we shall have action from the Foundation a strong Committee should be named, headed by Mr. Garfield or President Vinson or Mr. Root. Other workers should be named and subscriptions should be procured. This task will demand time and hard work, but with the backing and cooperation of educators and business leaders in New York and other parts of the United States it is not at all impossible. I can assure you of the continued active assistance of the Provisional Committee in Mexico City and the willingness of their members to help in every possible way.

That I have not accomplished more is cause for real regret on my part: that I have accomplished anything is due to fine help on the part of members of the Committee here and to friends of the project like President Vinson and Mr. Garfield and the backing of the men in Mexico City. I have been most cordially received and real interest has been evident on all hands - interest which I believe will mean financial and other assistance later. What has been gained must be followed up actively, and with the help of some of the men who have identified themselves with the project such is possible. The University can and must become a reality and it will through the active cooperation of all the forces that believe in what Education can contribute toward the new day in Mexico.

Most cordially and gratefully yours,

O. W. E. COOK,
Financial Secretary
of the Provisional
Committee in Mexico.

New York.
Dec. 10th 1923.

The Provisional Committee, consisting of business-men and educators in Mexico City and in the United States, suggests the following as a working plan for the proposed University in Mexico City. They are confident that when once such an educational center begins its work it will have no difficulty in commanding support for the carrying forward of an ever-enlarging program:

A COLLEGE OF EDUCATION - For the training of teachers in Primary, Secondary and State Preparatory and Professional schools, and for the training of specialists in Education. This would call for at least the following:

- a - Class-rooms and offices, educational Library, laboratory, exhibits for display and study of text-books, appliances, slides, home economics, practical arts, manual work, etc.
- b - Administrative staff for work in at least the following lines: Methods of Teaching and Educational Psychology, Educational Administration, Rural Problems, Primary and Secondary Education, History and Philosophy of Education.
Special work in Vocational Education, Practical Arts, and Extension work.

AN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND PHYSICAL TRAINING - To aid specially in working out the problems of sanitation, hygiene, and prophylaxis. This department to relate its work directly with that of all other health agencies in the Republic.

JUNIOR COLLEGE or preparatory school, relating to the Mexican system and method the very best of the approved college systems in the United States. This to be allowed to work itself out in the development of other departments and to meet the need that will arise for better and broader preparation.

UNIVERSITY AND LIBRARY EXTENSION - For the extension of educational inspiration, information and opportunity to the farthest part of the Republic and to specialize in Community work. This to be carried on through: correspondence, conferences, summer (winter) schools, clubs, lectures, motion-pictures, etc.

NORMAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL AND PRACTICAL ARTS - For the training of the industrial staff and the leaders in the industrial life of the nation, and to develop and conserve the national arts of the common people.

SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, OF COMMERCE, OF JOURNALISM, to be planned for and inaugurated as fast as money is available to assure success. There are some very fine assurances given of help in these fields.

For Immediate Release

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22d Street, New York, N.Y.

FILING DEPT.

APR 11 1923

SECRETARIES

The Christian Church and The League of Nations
by Lord Robert Cecil

(An address delivered by a distinguished visitor to America at a luncheon tendered to him by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches, in New York on April 8, 1923)

I am most gratified to be received by representatives of the Churches and to have an opportunity of saying a few words upon a subject which is of interest to us all.

In my country there is no body of men who have been of greater service to the League of Nations than the representatives of the Protestant Churches. In the work that I have been trying to do in my own country, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the churches and I doubt not that you will also play your part in the great cause of international peace, which surely is the cause of our religion. Surely a religion which rests the whole of its moral precepts on love, which declares that the chief of all virtues, must find itself hostile to the practice of war as the encourager of hate.

The ministers of all Christian churches preach love and brotherhood amongst men. Love and Brotherhood -- those are the foundations of any scheme for establishing peace amongst the nations of the world.

The League of Nations has as its very first words of the Covenant -- "by promoting international cooperation". Those are the first words it sets out. The rest is the whole scheme of bringing the nations closer together, teaching them to cooperate with one another, teaching them that they are parts one of another.

It is a definite, conscious and deliberate application of the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount to the relations of the nations of the world.

The Attitude of the Church

There are only two grounds on which it might be said that the Christian Church ought not to take an active part in promoting, I don't say this particular scheme of the League of Nations (that, of course, is a matter of debate) but a scheme which is going consciously and directly to work for a closer union of the nations of the world and the elimination of war as a means of determining international disputes.

The first of those grounds is a doctrine which found great support in Germany before the War. I don't know whether it finds any support in this country. It finds a little, though very little, in my own. That is that the moral law which applies to individuals doesn't apply to nations. The argument is put in several ways, but it is something like this: The nations -- Germany, France, England, America, -- are mere abstractions. What you mean is the executive power of the nations -- the people who determine the action of the nations, the minister, president, king or whoever he may be. And the argument goes on

in this kind of way: The duty of the executive power is only to its own people it can't be generous, or even just, at the expense of its own people. It has trust from them to carry on their affairs to the best of its power, and it is a poor form of morality which, in the guise of generosity toward other people's interests, sacrifices those interests which have been confided to its care.

That is the more subtle way of putting the contention. The Germans put it much more brutally and clearly. They merely said that the only rule or law that governed nations was the law of strength and might; that the state was essentially a non-moral entity.

Whichever way you put it, I do not deny that you may confuse yourself with a number of subtle arguments in favor of such a doctrine; but I believe that in point of practice, no decent human being would ever wish the government of his country to be carried on in defiance of moral law. I believe, as a matter of actual fact, that it would not be even advantageous for the government of a country to attempt such a policy. I believe it would lead them straight to disaster.

But for my part, I am content to rest my complete repudiation of any such doctrine on what appears to me to be the whole teaching of the Bible. It seems to me that the whole of the history which we read has been written in vain unless we are taught this great national truth that a nation that despises and rejects the law of God, will inevitably be punished for it by destruction from the face of the earth. That appears to me to be the absolute truth, and if that is so no Christian teacher can consistently contend that a State is not amenable to the moral law.

The only argument that is left to him is this: He may say, "Well, I grant that peace is a great Christian object, I grant that the moral law does apply to international relations, I grant that it is part of my duty to preach and work for the application of that moral law to the doings of the government in my own country; but this particular scheme that you suggest will not be of practical advantage to peace and therefore I am not bound to support it; indeed, if I take any action at all I am bound to oppose it as a fraudulent proposal."

What the League has Done

I am not going to weary you with a long dissertation as to the constitution and working of the League of Nations, but I do think that any impartial person who examines the record of what it has done since it came into existence three years ago must concede, must concede that it has in fact promoted peace in a most essential manner on more than one occasion and in more than one country; that it has promoted international cooperation and international good understanding; that it has increased the happiness (as far as material prosperity can increase happiness) of many millions of human beings; that it has promoted the destruction of great social evils and that, as a matter of actual historic evidential fact, you do find flourishing at Geneva and in what has been well called the atmosphere of Geneva, a new spirit of international brotherhood and friendliness, a new spirit limiting the fierceness of national fear, and setting up the duty of every national, not only to his own nation but to humanity at large. And I say that if you find that spirit existing, if you see these achievements actually made, then you have no right to say that the League of Nations is ineffective. You are bound to say, if you are an honest and clear-sighted man or woman, "Here is a good thing; it may be improved, cultivated and made to grow into a solid tree. But the plant is a sound one, it is well

planted, and it is our duty to tend it and cultivate it and improve it, but by no means either to neglect or to destroy it."

What the Churches Alone Can Contribute

I want to add one other thing: The Covenant of the League of Nations is a piece of international machinery and it is nothing more; it can be nothing more. It is a framework into which may be fitted the new spirit of which I have spoken, and in which that spirit may grow. It may prove of great value to the world; it may, after a feeble or brief existence, perish. Whether it is to be of permanent value or not, depends, as it seems to me, entirely on the spirit which is to guide it.

The last Assembly at Geneva began with a great service in the Cathedral there, lent for the purpose, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury preached a very remarkable sermon advocating the principles of the League and dwelling on the importance, the vast and overwhelming importance, of the leaders of religious thought in relation to the League. He said it was their part to give a soul to the League. That is true. If the League is left merely as an ingenious piece of international mechanism, designed to prevent nations from cutting one another's throats and perhaps to encourage nations to work together, it may be of some value -- indeed, I hope it will, even so -- but it will never do that which is essential if you are to establish peace in the world, namely, change the spirit of those who have in their hands the direction of the government of the nations.

For that we must look to the religious forces of the world. They and they alone can accomplish that. And it is therefore, to my mind, not only of enormous importance in each nation that the religious leaders should for the benefit of the national conscience be forward in supporting this great movement, but it is essential for the success of the movement itself. It is essential, if it is to have the strength and the courage and the spirit to discharge the great duties and functions which are laid upon it, it is essential that we should sanctify its action by linking it closer with the faith which we profess, and for that purpose we must appeal to the Churches of Christ throughout the world, for it is only they who can give that gift to suffering humanity.

Carrie J. Carnahan

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SEP 8 1923
609
SECRETARIES

Handwritten initials in red ink

RECEIVED

AUG 8 - 1923

Mr. Speer

Pittsburgh, Pa.,
August 3, 1923

My dear Dr. Speer,

Enclosed find check for \$25 for the work of the Federal Council. I am sorry to have been so slow about sending this little bit of help.

I want to thank you for the copy of the report of your visit to India and Persia. It is most interesting and is proving helpful to us in our work. While I was in South America this winter, visiting our mission stations there, my sister culled from your report the enclosed extracts and they were sent to every missionary in our official fields - South America and Mexico, Europe and North Africa. We are very sure that they are deeply appreciated for letters have come to us telling us how helpful they are. How much we all need more of the Master's own spirit in the service that we try to render Him.

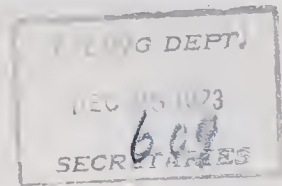
Hoping that you and your family are well, and with best wishes for large success in all your service, I am,

Cordially yours,

Carrie J. Carnahan

Handwritten notes:
25-
8-6-23

Handwritten note:
Send letter to Dr. Speer



December 19, 1923

Mrs. Andrew Carnegie,
2 East 91st St.,
New York City.

My dear Mrs. Carnegie:

As we draw near the end of the year and feel the financial pressure at its heaviest, we are turning to some of the friends who believe most deeply in the idea of cooperation among the churches to ask again for their help in order that the liabilities of the year may be fully met. I think it can be truthfully said that this has been the best year that we have known in the effective and brotherly cooperation of the churches. They have done more than ever before in their united evangelistic work, and with larger results. Likewise in promoting better race relationships, especially between the white and negro races, and in bringing the influence of the churches to bear in behalf of peace and international good will, and in the relief of the churches in Europe and especially of the preachers and teachers who have suffered more than any other class from the economic conditions in Central and Eastern Europe, the Federal Council has served as the instrumentality of the churches in accomplishing what could never have been accomplished if they had not worked together. You have helped the Council generously in the past, and I am making bold to ask whether it will not be possible for you to help it now in these closing days of the fiscal year?

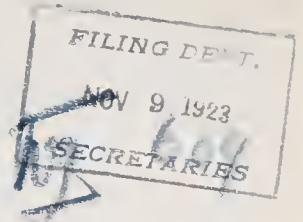
With warm regard and kind remembrances to Mr. and Mrs. Miller.

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

George G. Burns

BETHEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
GEORGE G. BURNS MINISTER
HAMILTON, ILLINOIS.



October, 29th. 23.

The Rev. Dr.
Robt. E. Speer,
156 Fifth Ave. N.Y.

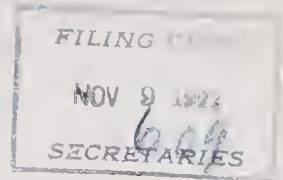
My dear Sir:- Several days ago you sent out an appeal to the churches to support the Federal Council. You stated in that letter of appeal, that the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. had promised the sum of \$ 25000 for that work. Since then the Council has sent out its Bulletin, and other printed matter, showing that its main business is to support the League of Nations and the World Court. I understand from your own statement that you call this "The Kingdom of God".

I am addressing you to state my opinion on the matter. I dont think the ministers or laymen of the Presbyterian church were ever in favor of either of the above mentioned interests. True they got the endorsement of the Assembly, but anyone who knows how that is done, pays less and less attention to it. The Presbyterian money should not be given to that which is purely political. The League of Nations and the World Court are purely political, and everyone, who, follows public matters knows that.

The Federal Council certainly is usurping authority that was never conferred upon it. I make my humble protest against the action you take in asking the Presbyterian church to support these things. It will eventually result in the same end that the Inter-Church Movement did. I dont believe that it adds to the welfare of the Board of Foreign Missions for you to ask for money to be devoted to political issues. Woodrow Wilson is dead and the League is dead.

Yours Sincerely,

George G. Burns



November 7th, 1923

The Rev. George G. Burns,
Bethel Presbyterian Church,
Hamilton, Ill.

My dear Mr. Burns,

Your candid and straightforward letter of October 29th with reference to the Federal Council is received. It is quite true that the Council has been supporting the idea of a World Court, through which the controversies of nations could be settled in a righteous and peaceful way without resort to war. It is true also that a great many of the men whom the churches have appointed as their representatives in the Federal Council are, like the churches which appointed them, in favor of the League of Nations, or some other association of nations which will help the nations to work together in promoting goodwill and international helpfulness, in preventing great epidemics, in stopping the White Slave traffic in women and girls, in ministering to relief and suffering, etc. I think that officially however the Federal Council has not committed itself to the League of Nations, because there are many among the churches who are opposed to it. It has, however, in view of the very direct action of the denominations which control it, like our own and others, supported the idea of the World Court. As you recognized, the last General Assembly took action on this subject as follows:

"That this Assembly records its sympathy with the recommendation of the President of the United States that we enter the World Court and regards such entrance as a most important step toward world peace. And further, that the General Assembly earnestly hopes for the entry of our nation into closer relation with the other nations, realizing that only so may we bear our part as a Christian nation in bringing and maintaining world peace."

The Federal Council is nothing but the churches which compose it. They appoint the body which controls it and their representatives constitute the Executive and the Administrative Committees. I think it has not committed itself to any measure which is not well within the actions and instructions which our General Assembly has adopted.

As to whether the Church should have anything to do with political questions depends, of course, on one's definition of "political". It certainly should not mingle in ordinary partisan or secular politics, but if, as the Century dictionary defines it, it is "the science whose subject is the regulation of man in all his relations as the member of a state" and "the theory and practice of obtaining the ends of civil society as perfectly as possible", how can the Church

Rev. G.G. Burns, ...p.3

detach itself from politics so considered? Our Lord bade us to pray, "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Does this not mean that we must work for these ends as well as pray for them, and does it not mean that the Church must do so as well as individual Christians? There is no doubt a boundary line within which the Church should confine its work, and often there may be a debate as to its right functions. There were many people who thought it ought not to say anything about slavery, and others that it ought not to say anything about prohibition, and others that it should say nothing about divorce or sex relationships, and others that it should say nothing about social or industrial questions. Many real problems no doubt arise in this field, but I am sure you would not want to say that the Church had nothing to do with earth but only with heaven. How could one take that view and continue to pray the Lord's Prayer?

Very sincerely yours,

RES:C.

George G Burns

BETHEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
GEORGE G. BURNS MINISTER
HAMILTON, ILLINOIS.

FILING DEPT.

JAN 31 1924

609
SECRETARIES

November, 10th. 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Ave. New York.

My dear Dr. Speer:- Your frank and courteous reply to my letter of the 39th. Ult. came to hand. I thank you for the spirit with which you answer. As you are the representative of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. on the Federal Council, I further address you.

Your letter is candid enough, but evades the point I tried to make. I believe that Christian people should support the Kingdom in everyway possible, but not to drag the Church into every economic, political and social movement, up for settlement. As there are any amount of good things being done in the world for the welfare of mankind, outside of the Church, we should not feel that the Church is called upon to get mixed up in everything going on.

You define the term politics in an academic sense. I would view it in the sense that is commonly accepted. Politics should be christian but they are not, and there is no use in blinding our eyes with any utopian desire that they are. It is folly to say that the Federal Council is not advocating The League of Nations. The last Bulletin it issued is simply a supplement of the League. The Council is nothing but a force to deal in politics. The whole trouble is in the fact that some enthusiasts become obsessed with an uplift idea and then they get some action before the national church bodies, and thus start a movement in the church. If they had more love for the purity and integrity of the church and less unholy ambition for their own interests, they would be better employed. Uplift has gotten to be a fad with a lot of people. The League of Nations was advertised as the millennium by officers at 156 Fifth Ave. If it had as

much good in it as its sponsors claimed for it I wonder it has accomplished so little. It stood idly by while orphans were shelled. Now the next of this kind of stuff, and which is called the "work of the Kingdom", is the World Court. And permit me to ask you this question, Would such a court be any different from that of any other court? Just as politics have entered into The Hague, civil courts, equity courts and ecclesiastical courts, so we may expect that the World Court would be controlled by political appointees. Now you want the Presbyterian Church to enter into such a movement for The Kingdoms sake. I tell you the church is a holy organ, and it should be kept free from all appearance of evil. The way things have been going in our church reminds me of the days of the Reformation when Tetzels and Samsons came selling their indulgences in order to build St Peters and fight the Turks. The churches are constantly being appealed to to raise money for this that and the other, and then the money is devoted to interests in which the church is not agreed. Witness the Inter Church Movement, which was nothing but a deception. The leaders and Boards may think that they can get away with a lot of things of which the members of the church are too benighted to understand, and not be held accountable. It would be a good thing to ask all the members of the church to vote on such issues as the Inter Church, League, and World Court. I think you might get a real answer.

I will try to reply to your statement that the questions of slavery and prohibition were political questions and that the church took action on them. They were more. They were evil in their very nature. Slavery was a moral question as well as political. Prohibition was not political but was economic and moral, and was settled that way. The economic side of the latter question was the fulcrum on which it was turned.

I am enclosing an editorial from the Chi. Trib. while I do not

endorse all of it, yet there is something in it for thought. People are getting tired of using the church for something else than its mission.

I ask myself the question: "What is the reason that the church of my faith with all the money it gets and all its machinery, the latest in improvement, its many agents, and all the energy expended on it, does not increase and glow with the fervency of the Apostolic or that of the Reformation? Look at the empty churches in the lands, none more so than in New York, and yet every comfort and convenience await people when they go to worship. The answer is right here, they get about everything at church but meat and drink for the soul. I never read a communication from one of the Boards or agencies that is not loaded with "money," do this and do that. The Presbyterian Church is getting to be a servant to the Boards and tyrants rule the sheep.

One trouble with our church, it wants to do about everything on earth and pay little attention to things of heaven. What we need is more of heaven and less of earth, more spirit and less political astuteness. I wish we could come to believe that the work is the Lord's and we are simply carried along in His movement. "Who am I?" said Peter. "I myself am but a man".

I am a silent observer of our Assemblies. And I observed at one Assembly certain people brought in a resolution commending Woodrow Wilson, and before the Assembly adjourned, certain others had passed a resolution condemning him. Neither helped nor hurt Mr. Wilson, but they ^{both} did hurt the Presbyterian Church.

You will have to pardon me for writing at such length. Thank you for your patience.

Yours Sincerely,
George T. Burrows.

COPY:

RECORDING DEPT.

JUN 14 1923

Care Brown Shipley & Co.
123 Pall Mall, London. SECRETARIES

Hotel France et Choiseul
April 23, 1923

My dear Will:

You will hear from Atkinson full reports of the Zurich meeting, but you may be glad of an additional word from me, as an independent witness.

I came to Zurich unexpectedly and at the last moment, to attend the meeting of the Program Committee of Life and Work; and was drafted into service, taking Dr. Boynton's place as American representative with Atkinson. The meeting was largely attended, the business important, and the spirit of the best.

Two impressions stand out with special clearness. One is of the great significance of the work the Alliance is doing, not merely for the special cause of international peace, but as a reflex influence in Christian unity in the different countries represented. The creation of the new English Council is a matter of extraordinary promise, and no one who does not know England intimately can fully appreciate the significance of the step that has been taken. But this is only one of a number of other accomplishments which Atkinson will report in detail, e.g. the creation of the new National Council in Poland. Dr. Ramsay has been doing splendid work, and we cannot exaggerate its importance.

The second impression is of the possibilities of the work for international peace. When we met it hardly seemed possible to avoid a break, but by tact and patience all elements were brought together in unanimous acceptance of the document. Dr. Atkinson will report to you. A Committee on Cooperation with the League of Nations was appointed, as a member of which I went to Geneva, and with Dr. Ramsay and Prof. Choisy interviewed Sir Eric Drummond who received us most courteously. Friendly personal relations were established with many members of the Secretariat.

As a result of these visits to Geneva and many personal interviews with the permanent staff, I am convinced that the only thing that can keep America out of the League is ignorance of the facts.

A further impression I may pass on is the importance of keeping our American representative in close touch with the European situation. Important as was the work he did in America, Atkinson's delay in returning to Europe was a handicap which came near being very serious. Do not let the "little Americans" who think we can do things all ourselves pull the wool over your eyes. Quite as important as to create the spirit of cooperation is it to bring about something with which we can cooperate. Here there is much still to be done.

On the whole the outlook is bright. We have made a fine beginning and need only to go forward with a good courage.

One thing that is especially important is money for the European work. Our Zurich statement is fine educational material but needs to be circulated and followed up. Can not you or Mr. Plimpton touch some new source which would be willing to help Sir Willoughby out with a special substantial sum for the purpose? I believe it would be money well spent.

I trust you can read this writing. Here I am cut off from stenographers and trust only on my own hand.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Wm. Adams Brown

Warren S. Blauvelt.

FILING DEPT.

689
SEP 12 1923

SECRETARIES

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1923
Mr. Speer

INDIANA COKE & GAS COMPANY

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA

WARREN S. BLAUVELT, PRESIDENT
PAUL N. BOGART, VICE PRESIDENT
M. E. BRADLEY, SECRETARY
LEON STERN, TREASURER

Do

August 17, 1923.

Rev. Dr. Robert E. Speer,
The Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Doctor Speer:

I appreciate your letter of August 6th and your kindness in sending me a copy of "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction," which I have read with considerable interest. I cannot but feel with you that this book does try to deal with the question in a careful honest way, but there we part company, and I would add, in a way which conspicuously disregards the universal law of human action, hence I verily believe that more harm than good would come from legislation enacted in accordance with the various suggestions.

It is a mystery to me why otherwise intelligent people seem to disregard the command to love God with their mind. My interpretation of this command is that the word "mind" refers to man's God given intellectual powers by which, if properly used, he is able to discover both those facts and those general principles the utilization of which is essential for the advancement of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Tagore says: "Facts are many but the truth is one. The animal intelligence knows facts, the human mind has power to apprehend truth. The apple falls from the tree, the rain descends upon the earth - you can go on burdening your memory with such facts and never come to an end, but once you get hold of the law of gravitation you can dispense with the necessity of collecting facts ad infinitum. You have got ~~as~~ one truth which governs numberless facts. The discovery of truth is pure joy to man - it is a liberation of his mind. For a mere fact is like a blind lane, it leads only to itself - it has no beyond. But a truth opens up a whole horizon, it leads us to the infinite." The natural law governing all voluntary action is that men always strive to satisfy their desires by the method which appears least repugnant. This law can no more be modified by church or state than can the law of gravity, but the church can modify men's desires profoundly, and both church and state can modify the environment in which desire acts and thus modify the phenomena of men's actions.

August 17, 1923.

Possibly the major function of government as now organized is to maintain a certain law and order for the benefit of those who have the vested right to reap where they have not sowed, a right clearly recognized by Adam Smith and enforced to this day by state and nation. Every effort at social reform, regardless of the good intentions of the reformer, is doomed to ultimate failure unless it recognizes this fact and unless it is directed in part at least to the modification of the existing politico-economic environment which maintains this vested right which is the denial of justice and makes charity futile so far as permanent social results are concerned.

I am inclined to think that the appalling waste of energy and funds by good people in their desire to reform the world by methods which are doomed to failure rises from their giving a wrong answer to Cain's question. Preachers generally assume that Cain was his brother's keeper, whereas a true answer is "certainly he was not his keeper, hence had no right to kill him, to enslave him, to absorb the product of his labor without his consent, or in any other way curtail his freedom." Failing to apprehend ultimate truth by which alone can freedom be achieved, and upon which only can ultimate justice be based, reformers attempt to use the police power of government to curtail freedom with the inevitable consequence that they postpone the realization of "the prophet's dream of a just and prosperous society" and the Christian ideal of the Kingdom in which God's will should be done on earth even as it is in heaven. Every suggestion contained in the book you sent me involves the curtailment of freedom and there is nowhere any suggestion that would lead to a clearer apprehension of the ultimate truth. In the natural law governing human actions, nor is there any suggestion which would utilize this law in establishing an economic environment favorable to the realization of justice *found only upon freedom attained thru the apprehension of truth.*

This is certainly an unusual letter for a coal operator to write to a clergyman. Having come from a family of clergymen, and Presbyterian at that, there may be something in my blood which impels me to spend nearly as much of my time and energy in the effort to get men to see the truth, as I see it, as I spend in the effort to earn dividends for my stockholders, but my experience has led me to believe that the utilization of my philosophy in relations with employees and customers tends to promote that good will which is so essential to permanent prosperity. Unfortunately, the economic welfare of no individual organization is immune from the diseases affecting ^{the} body politic, hence the necessity of some action in a wider sphere. Nurses and physicians are necessary but they never stopped an epidemic of yellow fever until men discovered that the germs were carried by mosquitoes and applied methods in conformity with that knowledge to stop the epidemic.

You are doubtless a very busy man and it is an imposition for me to write to you at such length and possibly it is annoying to you to receive a communication the purport of which is that the energies of the Federal Council are misdirected and hence are doomed to futility. I have, however, the presumption to ask you to spend a little more time and thought on this general subject

Speer, 3

August 17, 1925.

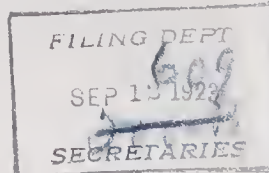
by reading the enclosures, in each of which I have attempted to apply the natural law governing human conduct in the solution of certain social and economic problems. These papers are entitled as follows: The Economic Cause of Waste, Social Justice and Church Programs, Economic Justice, A Plan to Reduce the Cost of Coal, Lower Freight Rates. But you may possibly find one or more of these enclosures sufficiently interesting to warrant the time taken in their perusal. I would appreciate your return of the three manuscripts when you are through with them, in the enclosed envelope.

Yours very truly,

Warren S. Blawie

WSB:CLK.

Enclosures.



August 20th, 1923 -

Mr. Warren S. Blauvelt,
Indiana Coke & Gas Company,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

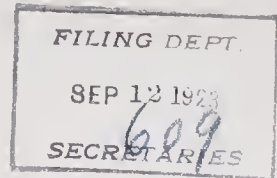
My dear Mr. Blauvelt,

In Mr. Speer's absence I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 17th, with its five enclosures. These will be held awaiting his return to the office in September.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mr. Speer.

G.



September 10th, 1923

Mr. Warren S. Blauvelt,
Indiana Coke & Gas Company,
Terre Haute, Indiana.

My dear Mr. Blauvelt,

I have been away from New York for several weeks and did not receive your good letter of August 17th with its enclosures until I returned last week. I am very much obliged both for the letter and for the opportunity to read the typewritten statements which I am returning as your request-ed herewith, retaining however, as I understand I was free to do, the two printed pamphlets.

I am not a clergyman but only a layman like yourself who grew up in a lawyer's home and went to college with the expectation of studying law but turned instead to the work of Foreign Missions as the work that seemed to me to be the neediest work in the world and the work yielding richest results.

I can not see, after reading your typewritten statements, what substantial variance there is between your general view and that of the Federal Council. The little book which I sent you was not a deliverance of the Federal Council. As far as I know, the Federal Council has advocated and asked for no legislative measures. It is simply trying to set forth Christ's principles as they are embodied in the New Testament, whose application to the conditions of to-day men must work out for themselves.

As to curtailment of freedom, I have all your inclinations, but I see clearly that all society is the surrender of freedom. In return, however, a man gets infinitely more benefits than he would enjoy if he retained all the benefits of independent and isolated individual life. All government represents the limitations of liberty as well as its guarantee, and every advance of every sort abridges liberty at one point ^{while} enlarging it at another.

Very sincerely yours,

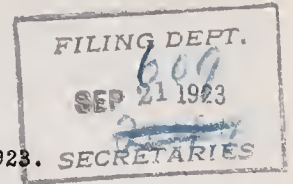
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RECEIVED

SEP 11 1923

Mr. Speer

SPEECH BY COLONEL J. B. BARRON AT LUNCHEON
AT THE HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA, TUESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1923.



Mr. Chairman and fellow guests - May I deviate from the course of things for a moment and express my thanks for the hospitality you show me to-day. As a British official, I consider it a great honor to sit here with a gathering of Americans which is so representative of the best elements of your spiritual and business life. It is most encouraging to realize that we are all here because of a common bond of interest in this great and ancient church institution, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem goes back to the days of St. James the Apostle. Century after century it has faced troubles brought on by war, famine and religious strife. It has faced crises brought on by the Mohammedan population - crises which are always imminent to Christians in the Near East. To-day there is perhaps a greater crises facing it than ever before.

Speaking as a layman and not as an ecclesiastic, I do not think the church can be a living church or a great spiritual force unless its finances are sound, for the lack of one must reflect upon the other. Before the war, the activities of the Orthodox Patriarchate included, schools, orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries and poor relief for the people of its community; it also conducted a theological seminary for the education of young men in the Orthodox priesthood.

To-day the theological seminary, which interprets the very life of the church, is closed. Most of the schools are closed, the only ones remaining open being in Jerusalem and Jaffa, two of the most populous centers; the rural population has no means whatsoever of educating their children in the Orthodox faith. The Christian population is scattered, with the Mohammedan, through Trans-Jordania and is ruled by the Mohammedans. When the Patriarch was forced,

through lack of funds, to close out his work there, the 20,000 Christians living in Trans-Jordania were deprived of any spiritual ministrations whatsoever.

It is difficult for me to convey to you the importance of the Patriarchate. We have nothing in America or England to correspond to the importance of the head of the church in the Near East. The head of a Christian community is, under certain conditions, the judicial head. Certain types of cases affecting the members of the Orthodox constituency must be tried by the Patriarch. The people look to the head of the church as a father - little troubles, births, baptisms, all come to his attention. When the head of the church loses prestige and power, the church suffers. Christian people in the Near East look exclusively to the head of the church for the education of their children. Religion reigns supreme and the father sends his children only to the schools of his church. With no schools in the village, there is no place for Orthodox children to go and receive the religious instruction of their faith. It is a difficult point for us to realize the tremendously wide-spread consequences contingent upon the loss of a status of this church.

It is a terrible thing to see the life of that church slipping. Unless aid comes, in a few years the church will be dead.

To illustrate the importance of the church in the life of the individual in the Near East, two or three months ago a dispute arose between an Orthodox Christian and Mohammedan on the other side of the Jordan. Under ordinary conditions, the case would have been tried in the Patriarchial court; as it was, it was tried in a Moslem Court. The answer that the Christian got to his pleas was 'Become a Moslem and the case is yours.'

What will pull this church together? First and foremost, money. It is indebted to the extent of \$3,500,000 and these debts have not been incurred by wanton extravagance or loans but because the Patriarch had in his keeping the Holy Places, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem; the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre in Jerusalem and other places familiar to all who are acquainted with the life of Christ. The Patriarchs have kept these places intact through the ravages of scores of invading hosts since the time of Christ; through the stormy times of the Crusades and down through the ages. They have had to bribe the officials in order to maintain them and to allow them to continue to preserve the places hallowed by the human presence of Christ. No church in the British Empire or here can boast of a prouder record of achievement and service than the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

While America has had her industrial activities; while Great Britain has had her political squabbles - the Patriarchs have guarded these places with their lives. The floor of the Holy Sepulchre has been covered with the blood of men who have stood there and fought to keep that sacred spot from defamations. When Omar, the Conqueror, entered Jerusalem, he generously refused to enter the Holy Sepulchre because, had he done so, it would have become a mosque. So, through the ages, if any Mohammedan had fallen on his knees and prayed within its doors it would have immediately become a Mohammedan mosque. In Constantinople, the Byzantine church has actually become a mosque.

When a world-wide appeal for funds is made, you may well ask - what is this money given for? It is for paying off large debts which the Patriarchate incurred in keeping these places intact for Christendom. Before the war, the income of the Patriarchate was derived from rents of properties in Palestine; rents of properties in Bessarabia, Russia, Greece, Crete, Smyrna and Asia Minor. These lands have been donated by the faithful to be held in trust by the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre. Other sources of income were collections from the Russian Orthodox Church taken annually under the auspices of the Government, and gifts of pilgrims who numbered about 10,000 a year.

These revenues have all been stopped except the rents for the properties in Palestine which amounted to about one-fourth of the total. The prop-

erty in Bessarabia was lost through the fact that, when Bessarabia was added to Roumania the properties were taken from the church by an agrarian law of the Roumanian Government which appropriated all church properties. The lands in Russian territory were lost owing to the Bolshevik revolution. The land in Greece had been held as security by the Greek banks for debts incurred before the World War and the income from there was lost. The burning of Smyrna and the seizure of Asia Minor by the Angora Turks account for the rest of the properties. The collections from the Russian Orthodox Church and the contributions from pilgrims have ceased owing to conditions in Russia.

How long this condition will obtain is problematical. The British Government is trying to get some compensation for the Patriarchate for the lands in Bessarabia, even going to the extent of holding up a Roumanian loan. Nothing has been settled yet, however, and the compensation will be very slight. I do not think that we will ever again see 10,000 or more pilgrims every year following in the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth to the Holy City.

There is nothing left for the Patriarchate but the returns from the lands in Palestine. It is the sole source of revenue which remains to this ancient church. Once that is gone, the guardians of the Sacred Places will be absolutely without funds to carry on their work.

And I want to stress the fact that the Patriarchate has come to its present unfortunate position, not through waste or extravagance but because of its guardianship of the shrines. It was the practise of the Ottoman Government to peremptorily demand of the Patriarch that a certain sum be paid to them by a certain date or they would prohibit the Greeks from entering the Holy Places and turn their rights over to others. The Patriarchate has been forced to pay out thousands of pounds to preserve the Holy Places from such defamation.

FILING DEPT.

FEB 13 1923

619
SECRETARIES

February 9, 1923

Rev. William E. Barton, D.D.,
First Congregational Church,
Oak Park, Ill.

My dear Dr. Barton:

Answers have come from ten of the official heads of our evangelical Churches to whom I wrote as I wrote to you on January 27th. There are others from whom no answer has been received. All who have written favor such a gathering, provided that it is adequately attended by the official heads, themselves, instead of alternates, and provided, of course, that the themes of discussion are such as you, yourself, will regard as of the greatest importance.

The only difficulty is to find a date that meets the convenience of so many men who are bearing such heavy responsibilities. Of those who have replied, the majority favor February 27th, but this would not be a practicable date for some and some would prefer a later date after Easter.

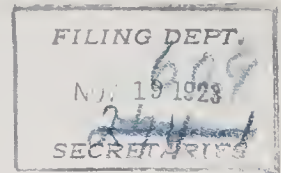
I write again, accordingly, to inquire whether you could be present for morning and afternoon session on Tuesday, February 27th, or whether you would prefer Tuesday, March 20th, or Tuesday, April 10th. Could you come for any one of these days which proved convenient to the largest number?

Will you please indicate also a few of the subjects which you think it is of most consequence that the Conference should discuss?

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

George Alexander
THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK



MINISTERS
GEORGE ALEXANDER,
47 UNIVERSITY PLACE
HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK,
806 WEST 122ND STREET
THOMAS GUTHRIE SPEERS,
47 UNIVERSITY PLACE

New York, October 19th, 1923.

Mr. Speer

Robert E. Speer, D. D.,
President of Federal Council,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Speer,

I have your circular letter and am glad to reply that the First Church makes an annual contribution to the Federal Council, *as I do personally.*

I note your confession that the "Council is not yet perfect". One of its imperfections is the abnormal activity of its secretary. Pastors weary of the appeals which come from his office almost daily for objects which seem remote from the main purpose for which the Council was created. I do not refer to financial appeals merely, but demands for time and service. I have received through the mail four copies of the bulletin, which is more than I really need.

This may seem captious criticism, but it is intended to be friendly. I realize also that the imperfections to which I have referred cannot be easily cured under present conditions.

Faithfully yours,

George Alexander

APR 4 1923

RECEIVED

Abstract of Program of the Union of the Communities
of the Ancient Apostolic Church Organized by
Vvedansky of Petrograd March 21, 1923.

Mr. [unclear] In the introduction there is an appeal for a new activity, a recognition of a crisis in the Church, but confidence in the fact that God is alive, and the introduction closes with a quotation from the epistle of James, "Faith without works is dead".

- Article 1. In our union there must be a return to individual purity.
- Article 2. We must discard political accretions and must weed out the paganism that has crept into Christianity.
- Article 3. There must be a return to simplicity in the church services and of purity in ecclesiastical relationships.
- Article 4. We must enlarge the social side of the Church activity in such a way as to include communism.
- Article 5. All belongs to God, so everything belongs to all. There is to be no private ownership of property, Acts 4:32.
- Article 6. There must be equality of men and full equality in using the gifts of nature.
- Article 7. There must be a prohibition of social unfairness and injustice, and we must resolutely stand against counter revolution.
- Article 8. There must be obedience to the state Soviet authorities.
- Article 9. The Christian faith is far removed from class distinction, and welcomes the separation of church and state.
- Article 10. The Church is for those who mourn and who are oppressed, and we take a stand against reaction to the old Church.
- Article 11. The Church is one Christian family. There must be no denominations and we must work for unity.
- Article 12. We must have a world ecumenical council.
- Article 13. National differences must not be an obstacle to us. Christians are non-national. Col. 3:11.
- Article 14. We must reconstruct the primitive Church and return to its unity. The local and ecumenical councils must revise the forms of worship and the creed must be reformed in the sense of the Nicean creed, which cannot be changed.

- Article 15. In the Russian Church there must be the principle of universal participation working from the bottom up. A man must be free to leave or to enter Church bodies. There must be no force, but only moral persuasion. Matthew 11: 15-17; Hebrews 12:15.
- Article 16. The masses must be included in educational efforts and must participate in the worship. There is no conflict between religion and science. Therefore religion may cooperate in education. There is no need of special theological seminaries but only theological courses in the secular schools.
- Article 17. Christianity grows and develops. It should not serve as a brake to civilization.
- Article 18. The Church service must be carried on in the vernacular.
- Article 19. Laymen must participate as much as possible in the Church services even including the preacher.
- Article 20. The priesthood should not be a caste. Laymen and clergy are brothers.
- Article 21. In Church community administration the laymen should participate and they should have the same rights in ecumenical councils.
- Article 22. The priesthood is not a livelihood set up as a profession, but must be on the same basis as all labor.
- Article 23. The Church services must be so arranged that priests may have some freedom for labor.
- Article 24. In the Church service we must work away from external formalism in order to reach the spiritual essence of the Christian life.
- Article 25. Christian religion and dogmatics must be free.
- Article 26. There must be less ceremony and less mechanics in the Church service. There must be preaching and free discussion in all the Churches.
- Article 27. The Church organization must follow regular canons which may nevertheless be changed, and there must not be too much literalism in the interpretation of the canons. There must be no hatred of other religions.
- Article 28. The distribution of charity must be in the hands of laymen as well as in the hands of the priests and superfluous Church property must be used for charity.
- Article 29. The monastical life may be a good thing, although as at present arranged it is not. At the present time there are even libertines in the monasteries.

- Article 30. Spiritual life can be enhanced by other than monastical methods. Therefore it should be possible to elect Bishops from among the laymen and the clergy should be free to marry or not. Titus 1: 6-9.
- Article 31. We are against the system of appointments to office, preferring the elective system.
- Article 32. We are against all distinctive insignia among clergy to differentiate one from another.
- Article 33. We are against circulars and manifestoes. Impartation of views should be through personal contact.
- Article 34. Church activities must be united but we take no stand against freedom of expression.
- Article 35. The Russian Council should determine administrative and Church problems. The Russian Council will prepare the way for an ecumenical council.
- Article 36. In order not to remain isolated the Russian Council should address the Greeks, the Romanists and the Protestants, the Russian Evangelists and the Sectarians so as to create one great family in Christ.
- Article 37. The High Church administration is only temporary, which will be replaced by a council to be determined by the Russian Council.
- Article 38. There must be periodical Russian councils at least once in four years.

MAY 23 1923

A LONG STEP TOWARDS A WARLESS WORLD

During the next nine months the American people must decide whether or not the United States shall follow the proposal of the President and the Secretary of State, and associate itself definitely with the Permanent Court of International Justice established at the Hague.

The issue which the World Court presents is not a new one. It embodies the age-long conflict between law and force. In earliest times each man, an absolute sovereign, remained a law unto himself. Disputes were settled by an immediate appeal to force. But gradually this changed, for the people could not stand the havoc of hate and conflict and destruction which such a system involved. Within the family a better way of deciding issues arose. Then within the tribe, then within the state, arbiters arose. No longer were individuals allowed to settle at will with their opponents in the ancient primitive way. Slowly a system of laws took shape governing the decisions of these judges. The very progress of mankind can be marked by law's slow conquest over force.

But the nations, the last of the absolute sovereigns, resisted this change and even up to yesterday asserted the right to be a law unto themselves. As a result came the World War. Today around the earth the people know that if nations are to survive they too must subject their individual wills to established processes of law, their individual interest to the welfare of all mankind. All that the Christian Church itself has built up in the hearts and minds of the people through centuries of effort hangs in the balance. For war in the future, aided by the powers of science, simply means self-destruction. This appeal to the sword can only be abolished by one means, - the means already found effective within the state - by extending the sway of law and securing an appeal to it instead of to the sword. That is exactly the purpose of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In it we see a great advance in the long struggle of man to civilize himself.

The Christian forces of this land for many years have advocated the settlement of international disputes by courts of arbitration rather than by resort to force. Indeed to them belongs no small responsibility for the leadership taken by the United States in behalf of such a program before the World War, and since 1918 denomination after denomination has officially requested the leaders of our government to take such steps as will lead us to active participation in the new Permanent Court of International Justice. In May, 1922, the Federal Council of Churches, representing united Protestant feeling, presented to the President a memorial urging our entrance into the Court as "not only the fruition and consummation of many decades of American discussions, plans and desires for international peace through justice based on law, but also the promise of a larger and truer righteousness and justice among the nations, a step forward in the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men."

A day of great decision for our country and the world has now arrived, a day long sought by the Christian people of our land. There will be strong forces at work opposing the action recommended by the President. Some will conjure up dangers to frighten doubtful minds. Others may oppose it because it does not go all the way in outlawing war. Although this is true, the establishment of the Court is a most important practical step in this direction. Surely we should not hesitate to take the first step because it is not a complete solution all at once. Concerted, vigorous and continuous effort in support of the Court is imperative on the part of all who see in the principle of the supremacy of law the only hope for the nations.

SALIENT FACTS ABOUT THE COURT

The new Permanent Court of International Justice should not be confused with the old Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration. The latter, established in 1899, is in reality not a court but a panel of 135 names from which nations may choose judges to arbitrate questions. It is not a permanently sitting court of permanent judges. Because of this it cannot as effectively build up a body of international law.

In 1907 Secretary of State Elihu Root instructed the American delegates "to bring about a development of the Hague tribunal into a permanent tribunal composed of judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international cases by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility." Later Senator Knox took up a similar plan and sought to have it adopted, but the outbreak of the war in 1914 caused its postponement.

At the end of the war the Covenant of the League of Nations embodied in Article XIV this statement; "The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice."

The Council at once asked a number of eminent jurists, Elihu Root being one, to draft a plan. On December 13, 1920, its proposal was unanimously approved, with modifications by representatives of the forty-eight states sitting in the Assembly. A special independent treaty was drawn up, wholly distinct from the Covenant of the League; and as such it now has been signed by forty-six states, of which thirty-five have completed their formal ratifications.

The Court is composed of eleven regular and four deputy judges. The judges of the Permanent Court are elected for a term of 9 years by a majority vote of the League's Assembly and Council acting independently. They are to give their full and continuous time to this work. Sessions are held at least once a year beginning June 15th. Already the Court by three decisions has set at rest heated controversies which had menaced the whole future of international cooperation with respect to labor legislation. On February 7, 1923, it rendered a decision on a controversy between France and Great Britain over the nationality laws of Tunis and Morocco. From present appearances its time will be filled continuously with important cases.

The Court is not a "private" Court of the League of Nations. By a decision of the Council of the League on May 12, 1922, it has been opened to all the world. In most cases each party to a dispute must consent before the Court can deal with the dispute. An optional clause in the treaty establishing the Court has now been ratified by fourteen states, giving the Court jurisdiction of every dispute between these states in which is involved any question of international law, of interpretation of a treaty, or of a breach of an international obligation.

By Articles XIII and XVI members of the League agree to accept and support decisions of the Court. States not members of the League are not bound in this way. For them and, in the last analysis, for all nations the ultimate force behind the decisions of the Court must be the moral power of the united public opinion of the world.

President Harding now proposes that the United States join the Court, with reservations providing that:

1. No legal relation to the League is involved.
2. The United States may participate in the election of the judges on an equality with the other states.
3. The United States will pay a fair share of the expenses.
4. The statute of the Court shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

WHAT TO DO

1. In the regular services of public worship, pray and speak for the extension of the sway of law over force and for a whole-hearted readiness on the part of our nation to play its part in bringing this about.
2. Write to President Harding assuring him of your full support.
3. Write to your United States Senators, expressing your strong desire that the Senate should approve promptly the recommendation of the President.
4. Arrange for a forum or other meeting for a discussion of the principles at stake in the Court and of America's responsibility in its development.

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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY GOOD SAMARITAN

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MAY 23 1923

SECRETARIES

On Sunday, May twentieth, there will be gathered together in the City of Washington several thousand men and women who will come from every state in the Union, from large cities and from country districts, — people who are working to make their communities better, cleaner, happier, and more wholesome places to live in. There will be among them ministers, doctors, teachers, nurses, judges and court officers, city and state officials, editors, employers, labor leaders, settlement and home service workers, and many others whose business it is to stand by "when a fellow needs a friend."

This great company of people will spend a week at the national Capital and on Sunday they will be attending the various churches — Protestant, Catholic and Jewish — and will listen to sermons about the churches' part in all these undertakings. The occasion of their coming together is the annual meeting of the organization to which they belong — the National Conference of Social Work.

The Good Neighbor Today

What is "social work" and what has it to do with the church or the Sunday school? Let us recall a very old story: A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment and wounded him and departed leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite when he was at the place came and looked on him and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed came where he was; and when he saw him he had compassion on him and went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast and brought him to an inn and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed he took out two pence and gave them to the host and said to him, "Take care of him and whatsoever thou spendest more when I come again I will repay thee."

The hero of this narrative might be called the first "social worker" whose story has been preserved for us. But of course he was acting all alone — he had no organization to help him. Then, too, what this good neighbor did was very meagre from the modern point of view. He had to pour oil and wine on the sick man's wounds; antiseptics were unknown and drugs were rare. He had to take his patient to an inn; there was no hospital. He had to go warily forward on his road as thieves were still abroad on the dangerous highways about Jerusalem. Unorganized industrial conditions, shocking standards of living with lack of all public safety regulations made thieves and desperadoes even of decent men in those days. The good neighbor acted single handed; today we are able to act together for the common good in service founded on knowledge and tested by experience. Social work means playing the "good neighbor", but in a much greater variety of ways than were known two thousand years ago. The fact that it is often done in great hospitals and schools and laboratories and parish houses doesn't make it any less personal or religious. The great size of our cities and the multitude of our problems simply increase the opportunities for neighborliness and fellowship. Cannot young people who have been studying fields of Christian service in church and Sunday school bring to the social tasks of our day a touch of personal devotion which grows out of the spirit and fellowship of the Christian church?

But social work today has added something very important to what the Good Samaritan did. He handled the unfortunate man whom thieves had set upon, in the only way he could — as an "ambulance case". The harm was done and the thieves were gone; the good neighbor could only care for the victim. Nowadays,

social workers do not rest content without an effort at prevention and reconstruction. In the language of the parable they are just as anxious to clear out the thieves on the Jericho road as to rescue the victim after the harm is done. This is why we hear so much about health education, the prevention of vice, better factory conditions and better relations between labor and capital. Social work aims not merely at helping individuals, important as that is, but also through individuals and groups, at making our cities and towns the kind of places where health triumphs over disease, comfort over poverty, virtue over vice, and goodwill over strife.

A Great Anniversary

The Conference of Social Work will celebrate at this session its fiftieth anniversary. It began in 1873 during the reconstruction period following the Civil War. There were but eleven people concerned in that first effort. The fiftieth anniversary falls within the reconstruction period following a world war. Greater tasks than those of fifty years ago now face the organization that has in half a century grown out of such a small beginning.

During seven days this great Conference of Social Work will discuss seven important subjects, giving a day to each; the home, the school, the church, health, industry, public opinion, law and government. And on Sunday these social workers from all parts of America will be discussing among other things what the young people of the churches are ready to do in this nation-wide effort toward social betterment. Is it not fitting that the young people themselves should at the same time ask themselves what they can do to further so splendid an effort? Some practical opportunities lie right at hand.

What does Your Community Need?

First, there is the privilege and duty of knowing one's own community, its needs, its resources, and the efforts that are being made to better it. Many social workers are to be found in the churches and they would welcome the opportunity to give information and counsel to groups of church young people. Watch for reports of the Conference. A little group of young people, members of a class or a club, may own a volume of the printed reports at the cost of a few nickels or dimes apiece. Someone will doubtless be found in every community who will gladly help to interpret and to make useful these records of what is said and done in Washington.

The Great Decision

Then there is the decision that young people have sooner or later to make concerning a vocation. What are you going to do as a life task? A few years ago it was assumed that if a young man or woman wanted to do a very religious thing the foreign mission field was clearly the choice to make. Now, we are not less interested in foreign missions; in fact, missionary work is coming to be very largely social service such as we have been considering; but we are today looking upon social work in school or factory, hospital or playground, as a religious service quite as truly as preaching or teaching in India. A certain New York church during the war had not only a war service flag, but a Christian service flag which had a star for every life devoted to service on the mission field. Would it not be altogether appropriate to add a star for every young man or woman who goes out to battle with disease, bad housing, ignorance and poverty? When considering the call to life service don't forget the field of "social work".

ADDENDA:
Huguenot-Walloon New Netherland Commission

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JUN 1 1923

SECRETARIES

Hon. Levi. A. Ault
Hon. Thomas F. Bayard
Rev. F. W. Burnham
Miss Catherine P. Clivette
Louis P. de Boer
Herbert Du Puy
William Phelps Eno
Hon. F. D. Gallatin
Hon. Gilbert D. B. Hasbrouck
Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn
Henry E. Huntington
Mrs. Richard V. Linabury
Hon. Albert H. Vestal

Hon. Walter F. Lineberger
Mrs. Philip N. Moore
Mrs. Regina A. Niehaus
Mrs. Mary L. Norton
W. A. Herbert Reider
Morgan H. Seacord
Rev. John Van Schaick
William H. Taylor
Mrs. Charles E. Tefft
Rev. Worth M. Tippy
Hon. Richard N. Tobin
William Gordon Ver Planck

CORRECTIONS

as of May 1st, 1923.

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SECRETARIES

CALIFORNIA

Oakland..Rev. A. G. Cushman, Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

ILLINOIS

Chicago..Mr. Walter R. Mee, Ex. Sec'y. Room 1304,
77 West Washington Street.

MAINE

Portland. Mrs. Elbridge Stoneham, 40 Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston..Mr. Geo. L. Paine, Sec'y. 6 Beacon Street.

MICHIGAN

Detroit..Rev. Morton C. Pearson, 407-9 Charlevoix Bldg.
(Executive Secretary)

MINNESOTA

St. Paul . Rev. Arthur F. Wittenberger, (P)
514 Midland Trust Bldg.

Minneapolis . Rev. Robert B. Blyth, Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln..Miss Eleanora T. Miller, Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City..Rev. Eugene L. Nixon, Chelsea Nat'l. B'k.
Bldg., Room 223

Moorestown..Mrs. Margaret T. Chickering.

NEW YORK

Brocklyn..Rev. Frederick M. Gordon, 69 Schermerhorn St.

Buffalo..Rev. Don D. Tullis, Sec'y. Niagara Bldg.,
Franklin and Mohawk Streets.

OHIO

Columbus..Rev. W. A. King, Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

VIRGINIA

Norfolk..Rev. D. W. Howard, President, Norfolk Council of
Churches, Y.M.C.A. Bldg.

WASHINGTON

Seattle..Rev. H. I. Chatterton, 402-3 Thompson Bldg.,
4th and Cherry.

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of Christ in America
105 East 22d Street, New York, N.Y.

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JUL 5 1923
SECRETARIES

THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

By Rev. James Boyd Hunter, Editor of The Christian Intelligencer
and Mission Field.

The 117th session of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America was held at Asbury Park, N.J., June 7 to 13. Although many of the Synods have been held in recent years at Asbury Park, the meeting this year was distinctive because the building in which the meetings were held, commonly known as Synod's Church, had been practically rebuilt since 1921, when Synod met there last, and in consequence the business of the gathering was transacted under unusually favorable surroundings.

Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D., of Cairo, Egypt, the eminent worker among the Mahommedans, was elected president of the Synod, with Rev. Henry E. Cobb, D.D., of the West End Collegiate Church, New York City, as vice president. There were over 200 delegates in attendance, a somewhat larger number than usual, representing all the Classes of which the denomination is composed.

The Boards of the church, in their reports, indicated a fairly good year, so far as the financial receipts were concerned. The regular contributions were not so large, on the whole, as last year, but individual gifts and legacies brought the total figures up to about the same as 1922. The reports all recognized the fact, and the recommendations were all directed to securing better results in the coming year.

In the report of the committee on the State of Religion, which was prepared and read by the retiring president, Rev. Albert Oltmans, D.D., of Japan, there was simply the story of an average year. The number of new members, -- perhaps about 8,000, -- was offset by dismissions, deaths, discipline, and removals to the absent list so that the net advance was scarcely 2,000. He reported a loss of four churches during the year, and the number of ministers was stationary, indicating the need of new recruits for the work. Denominational contributions were somewhat more than last year, but gifts to other objects showed a decided falling off. The money required for congregational expenses was considerably larger than in previous years, which led the president to remark, "We have been very good to ourselves."

Two important matters were considered in Synod, both of them having to do with matters of administration. At the last Synod a committee was appointed to investigate the affairs of the two seminaries of the denomination, situated at New Brunswick, N.J., and Holland, Mich., in order to discover how they might be made more efficient and attractive. So far as the Western Seminary, at Holland, was concerned, there was felt to be very little that needed to be changed. The institution will grow as the need becomes recognized, for the constituency from which it draws its students and its financial support may be depended on to see that its wants are supplied. Synod recommended that the salaries of the professors be increased substantially.

In the matter of the New Brunswick Seminary, however, the conditions were different, and the situation was complicated by the death, last July, a month after the committee had been appointed, of Rev. J. Preston Searle, D.D., who had been the president of the faculty for many years, and was easily the most influential of the professors. With him out of the teaching staff, rumors of dissatisfaction concerning conditions began to be heard some months ago, and there were threats of a revolt among the students unless a radical change was made. The committee took cognizance of these conditions, and its report, which was accepted almost completely, seems to point a way to much better feeling, and a far better curriculum.

Both seminaries have adhered to the old plan of not having a president, but simply a presiding officer to act as chairman of meetings. Each professor was independent of all the others, so far as teaching courses were concerned. The present report requires that a president shall be elected, who shall have all the power of unifying the courses of study that other such officials have. Many changes of details were recommended, and in some ways the curriculum was broadened. It will be possible for women hereafter to take courses, looking to their usefulness in educational and parochial work.

The death of Dr. Searle had made necessary the election of his successor in the chair of systematic theology. According to the usage of the Reformed Church in America, nominations for such vacancies are made by the Board of Superintendents, a supervising body made up of representatives of the several Classes and Particular Synods. This body, a thoroughly representative group of men, with President W. H. S. Demarest, of Rutgers College among them, had, after long search and investigation, selected as its nominee Rev. Edward Strong Worcester, pastor of the Congregational Church at Bellows Falls, Vermont, who is a son of the late Prof. John H. Worcester, for a short time professor of systematic theology at Union Seminary, New York.

Perhaps it was unfortunate that in the wisdom of the Board no knowledge had come to the delegates at large concerning the identity of its nominee, for when his name was announced, together with his pedigree, it became evident that there was opposition. Other nominations are allowed in open session, but are not accepted unless they are supported by 25% of the delegates. None of those nominated received this percentage, and consequently the voting was confined to the one name. Those who were not willing to vote for Mr. Worcester voted "blank" each time, and as it required a three-fourths vote to elect him, it was apparent that a long contest must be expected. Ballots were taken at certain times in each session, the vote standing approximately the same, until on Tuesday night, at an extra session, the opposition was broken, and Mr. Worcester was declared elected. While the delegates who were opposed were positive in their attitude, there was no bitter feeling manifested, and it might have been possible to have made the election unanimous if it had not been for the attitude of a few men. At this writing it is impossible to state whether Mr. Worcester will accept, but it seems likely that he will.

The other matter which took the attention of the Synod was the report of a committee appointed last year to investigate conditions at the church headquarters and report upon any changes which might be made that would tend towards greater efficiency and economy. The report was a voluminous one, requiring more than an hour in the reading. It suggested a number of drastic changes, probably influenced by the action of the Presbyterian Church in some particulars.

Thus it proposed to consolidate the Board of Foreign Missions and the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, and, in like manner the two Domestic Mission Boards. It proposed practically to eliminate the Board of Publication and Bible School Work, and to divide up its functions in some new divisions of the Board of Education. It also suggested some practical improvements in the Board of Direction, which is really the Trustees of Synod, and holds the greater part of the invested funds, amounting to about \$3,000,000.

The Synod decided that it would not be wise to discuss the far reaching recommendations this year, and therefore it ordered the report printed in the minutes, and continued the committee until next year. In the mean time the Boards are to be asked to consider how the report affects them and transmit to Synod their views.

For the rest, the Synod was a time to meet old friends and make new ones. Missionary veterans were there and missionary recruits. The women of the church held two missionary meetings. Religious education was discussed. A new organization, called the Progress Council, was started on its career as the successor of the Progress Campaign Committee, which expired by limitation. When the final motion was made, and the benediction was pronounced, the Synod disappeared with rapidity and quiet, to meet again in the same place next year. In 1925 it is expected to meet in Holland, Mich., to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the union of the colonial churches of the Holland emigration of 1846 with the Reformed Church in America.

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Federal Council of the Churches
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105 East 22nd Street, New York, N.Y.

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JUL 5 1923
SECRETARIES

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

by Señor Agustin Edwards, of Chile, President of the Third Assembly of the League of Nations and Chairman of the Fifth Pan-American Conference.

(This remarkable address, delivered by a distinguished South American at a luncheon tendered him by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on Friday, June 1, 1923, is such a discriminating interpretation of the League that it will be read with deep interest even by those who may not wholly agree.)

Perhaps it would be interesting both for you and for me to exchange a few ideas on the League of Nations, which it was my privilege to preside over at its Third Assembly last September. It is not really necessary for me to explain to a gathering like this what the League of Nations is, and I would not like to enter into the controversial question of whether the United States ought or ought not to join it. That is a question for your country alone to decide. For us foreigners there is nothing left but to wait patiently for the moment when the United States as a whole decides to join forces in this great cause of civilization and humanity. But my position with regard to the League is rather peculiar. I am an American - by that I mean that I belong to the American family - a Chilean, and I belong to those who believe that all of us from North and South America ought always to see eye to eye in every international question. That position of being an American perhaps enables me to say to you things about the League of Nations that will not be considered rude, as they might be if uttered by a European who conceivably might be interested in getting this country into the League because of other motives than the greater interests of civilization.

In my experience during the three years in which it has been my privilege to work in the League, I have come to the conclusion that the League of Nations in its present state, more than an institution, more than an organized body, is a state of mind. It has no material power, and it cannot come to any decisions except by the unanimous consent of all the nations that belong to it. Even the decisions that are taken unanimously by the League may not be carried out by some of the countries that have contributed to that decision if for one reason or another they do not wish to abide by it. The League has no power to enforce its decisions except one that in a way is very great - the sense of honor of the nations that take part in its deliberations and have contributed to its decisions. Therefore it has been my experience as an American that the old conception that many people had of the League as a super-state has proved to be nothing but a bogey.

No one dreams that the League is, or has the remotest prospect of becoming, an instrument to over-rule the positions of free and independent governments. In the political order the League is content to carry out whatever work is spontaneously brought to it by the nations concerned. I don't remember in all these three years one single instance in which the League has taken a step to intrude into the political relations of its members. There are many instances in which the League has acted effectively to solve difficult questions that have arisen. I need only mention the question of the Aaland Islands in the Baltic, the fixing of the boundaries of Albania, the decision of the Upper Silesia question.

There is no lack of burning political questions - yet the League of Nations has not attempted and does not attempt to interfere with them unless it is asked to do so.

Some people may say, then, that this is a sign of weakness or impotence. That is a very superficial way of looking at it. Those who belong to the League have the consciousness of the necessity of preserving this newly-created instrument for the work of international co-operation, which is its prime and essential object, and cannot run the risk of blunting this fine instrument which it cost so much sacrifice to create. Until the principles for which the League stands are instilled into the minds of the people of the whole world it must be content with promoting, as it is promoting, international co-operation following the lines of least resistance. We are trying to educate the world to the idea of co-operation; we are giving the world an opportunity to test this new method in all the questions of international interest, and in this work of preparation, which at the bottom is a great revolution, there is a new conception of international intercourse. We hope that all the nations of the world will by and by come and participate, when they become convinced, as we are certain will be the case before very long, that no surprises, no unexpected and overwhelming engagements, will all of a sudden be sprung upon them, but that only specific commitments arrived at of their own free will can be the outcome of their decision to join.

Of the twenty-one American Republics I think I am not mistaken in saying that seventeen belong to the League, though as a matter of fact only fourteen are actually taking an active part in its deliberations. And in all these three years I do not recollect a single instance in which the League attempted to interfere in purely American affairs except when it was specifically asked to do so. On the other hand, I do not remember either any instance in which this group of American countries belonging to the League have found themselves drawn into the turmoil of European involvements. The two groups of nations in a political sense have kept their complete freedom of action within the League, and as the decisions of the League can only be taken unanimously it is not necessary for me to add that it is almost impossible for any nation to be dragged into any course where it does not want to go. And yet though these two groups have kept politically apart they have done most interesting, most important, most far-reaching work to establish international co-operation. This is especially noticeable in the technical field. Most important research work has been done by the Financial and Economic Committees, by the Communications and Transit Committee and by the Health Committee. And no less important work has been done in the humanitarian field bringing what I might call a united front to dealing with the limitation of the use of noxious drugs, the degrading traffic in women and children and those awful deportations that have taken place. If the only tangible result of the League had been the amount of technical knowledge that has been gathered, that by itself would be sufficient for the League to deserve the everlasting gratitude of the human race. And there is another aspect in connection with the League which is I think of great importance. It seems to me that it would have been practically impossible to get together the body of extraordinary experts that the League has gathered in the Secretariat-General if the League of Nations did not exist, because it can draw on the reserve fund of science of all the nations of the world to bring to Geneva what is best amongst them. That body of experts is there ready to give information on any subject of interest to the world at large, and the foundation of that body of experts would be sufficient in my mind to justify the creation of the League of Nations.

Outside of these general considerations there are things happening at

the present moment that it would have been impossible to carry out if a League of Nations had not existed. It is the synchronizing of the efforts otherwise scattered which makes the institution so valuable for the carrying out of things that are beneficial to humanity as a whole. At this very moment, an Austrian loan is ready to be issued in this country. The securing of that degree of economic stability for Austria would have been practically impossible unless a League of Nations had existed, because it would have been impossible to raise one single cent of money for Austria if certain reforms had not been carried out in its administrative organization. Now I ask you, would it have been possible to carry out those reforms in Austria if the League of Nations had not existed? Could a nation or a group of nations have carried out those reforms without arousing suspicion as to their political intentions in doing that, or even of the possibility of depriving that unfortunate country of its independence and sovereignty later on? It needed a body like the League, which is above and beyond suspicion, to carry out those reforms, and therefore if today there is some prospect of reconstruction in Austria it is in no small degree due to the very existence of the League of Nations.

It does not need a very vivid imagination to picture what may be the results of this reconstruction of Austria, for it may show that similar schemes can be carried out in other parts of Europe which are suffering from the same evil of currency depreciation. Therefore it seems to me that in spite of the little that the League of Nations has been able to accomplish in political affairs it is carrying out very great work, and it is probably laying the foundations of the future reconstruction of the parts of the world that have suffered so much.

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105 East 22d St., New York, N.Y.

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JUL 9 1923

SECRETARIES

TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA.
By Rev. G. T. Lee, Editor of the Lutheran Church Herald

The second triennial convention of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America was held at the Auditorium in St. Paul, Minn., June 8th to 15th. Six years ago this Church was organized by a union of three former church bodies and now has a membership of 500,000. The number of pastors is 1,301; congregations 2,783; confirmed members 293,675. The members of the church are found chiefly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Illinois, and along the Pacific Coast, but a few are found in nearly every state in the Union and quite a large number in Canada. The original stock of members were emigrants from Norway who came over as early as 1,825 and will therefore celebrate their centenary in 1925. The Church is still to a great extent bi-lingual, but at the present time the home mission work is almost entirely English. The third generation of the immigrants speaks almost exclusively the English language.

The Church has a theological seminary in St. Paul; four colleges — Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota; Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn.; and Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota — three junior colleges, three normal schools, and nine academies. It conducts foreign missions in China, Madagascar, and South Africa, supporting 110 missionaries and 721 native workers. It conducts an extensive home mission and has 20 institutions of charity.

On the seventh of June the well-known and nationally famous St. Olaf Choir, from Northfield, Minn., gave a concert in the auditorium to an audience of about 10,000 and the next evening the Choral Union of the Church with a chorus of 800 singers gave a concert in the same place. At the regular meeting which commenced the 8th of June there were 1,214 registered voting pastors and lay delegates. The main topic for the convention was endowment funds for the schools and colleges. Several sessions were spent discussing this question and resulted in a practically unanimous decision to pay all indebtedness and deficits in the budgets and raise an endowment fund of \$2,500,000. The regular budget for the next two years amounted to \$2,680,688.92. Several building projects in connection with the colleges and academies were also approved. Some years ago St. Olaf College received approximately a million dollars from Harald Thorson, but with specifications that this was to be used for building purposes.

Dr. H. G. Stub was reelected for a six year term as president of the Church. Dr. J. A. Aasgaard, president of Concordia College, was elected vice president; Rev. N. J. Lohre, secretary; and Mr. E. Waldeland, treasurer. The Church was organized shortly after the United States entered the war and naturally has had its difficulties during the upheaval of the war and the hard times following the deflation period which was especially severe on the farming communities of the Middle West comprising the large percentage of the church membership. It has not yet any rural problems. The country churches in the Middle West are in a flourishing condition and up to this time has been the mainstay of the organization. The new problem is the organization of city churches especially in the Northwest. An English district will be organized in the near future and will naturally become a strong district in a short time.

Among the active members of the Church are Governor J. A. O. Preus of

Minnesota, Governor Nestos of North Dakota, Senator Shipstead of Minnesota, Senator Norbeck of South Dakota, Congressman O. J. Kvale of Minnesota and Congressman Nelson of Wisconsin. The Lutheran Church Herald is the official English organ of the Church, -- a thirty-two page weekly edited by Rev. G. T. Leo.

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AUG 4 1922
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SECRETARIES

July 27, 1922.

The Right Rev. James DeW. Perry Jr.
10 Brown Street
Providence, Rhode Island

My dear Bishop Perry:

I have learned from Bishop Gaylor and Bishop Brent that the question of the relationship of the Episcopal Church to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America will probably come up for consideration at the General Convention in Portland. I hope that it may, and I venture to write to ask whether you will not use your influence to bring the Church into full cooperative relationship with the other Churches of the United States in the Federal Council.

This relationship does not compromise in any way the complete autonomy of the cooperating bodies. The Federal Council has no right to commit or involve them, nor is it allowed by its constitution to deal with Ecclesiastical or Theological questions. It is a simple and indispensable instrumentality for the use of the Churches in the field of their common interests and activities. Unless the Churches have some such responsible and controlled agency as this they will be embarrassed by the constant rise of irresponsible and uncontrolled cooperative movements. There are so many questions which are common to the Churches and with which they must of necessity deal in common that some such agency as the Federal Council is, I believe, an absolute necessity to them and I do not believe that they could devise, or if they could devise, could succeed in setting up at the present time any agency as sensible and as well adapted to right use as the Council.

It is not only for purposes of common action that such an agency is needed. The Churches need it for purposes of proper self protection. Without some such common meeting place there is always the likelihood that activities will be launched which will embarrass all of us, and which we will not know of until it is too late to supply any securities.

Looking back, I think it is true that the Federal Council has been far and away the most satisfactory interdenominational organization we have had. It has made fewer mistakes, and has rendered on the whole more useful service to the Churches than any other such agency. It holds itself in strict relationship to the organizations which have created it, and it affords them an instrumentality for the accomplishment of work which will either be left undone by the Churches or be very inadequately done unless they undertake it in some efficient related way.

Bishop Perry -2-

The full relationship of the Episcopal Church to the Federal Council will not compromise in any way the Church's effort in the field of larger unity. On the other hand, such a relationship would help. It would destroy entirely the ground of those who say that the Church is ready for a unity that is impossible, but not for a cooperation that is possible, and which is a step toward any fuller right relationships and not a barrier in their way.

Both for the sake of the help and the protection which full relationship in the Federal Council would bring to the Episcopal Church, and for the sake of the service and the witness which such membership would enable the Church to render, I join with many others in the hope and prayer that the action of the coming General Convention may be a favorable and forward reaching action.

I have heard some say that either the Church should take full relationship or cease the relationship which it now has. May I express the conviction that this is not a right alternative, that the right and wise and truly Christian alternative is between the present partial relationship and full relationship as in the case of our Presbyterian Churches, for example. And is not the right and wise and truly Christian choice in such an alternative a choice of the fullest and completest fellowship possible?

with sincere regard,

Very faithfully yours

REB/MS

Samuel McC. Cavert
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
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 Congregational Churches
 Disciples of Christ

Evangelical Church
 Evangelical Synod of N. A.
 Friends
 Methodist Episcopal Church
 Methodist Episcopal Church, South
 African M. E. Church
 African M. E. Zion Church
 Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
 Moravian Church
 Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
 Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
 Primitive Methodist Church
 National Council of the Protestant
 Episcopal Church (Cooperating Agency)

Reformed Church in America
 Reformed Church in the U. S.
 Reformed Episcopal Church
 Seventh-Day Baptist Churches
 United Brethren Church
 United Presbyterian Church
 United Lutheran Church
 (Consultative Body)

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 REV. SAMUEL MCGREA CAVERT

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October third
 1927

OCT 4 - 1927
 Mr. Speer

Dear Mr. Speer

to Mr. McCreath

Apparently there was some confusion about your correspondence of May 18 with regard to your membership in the Jewish Christian program. The letter which you received did not have to do with the federal council's Committee on Goodwill between Christians and Jews, but with an organization which was being newly created, known as the National Conference of Jews and Christians. I dare say that it was not made clear enough that this was a separate organization, independent of the federal council's Committee.

The federal council's Committee on Goodwill between Christians and Jews is, of course, still in existence, and, so far as I know, there is no thought that this should be otherwise. It will continue to be an official committee of the federal council, and therefore made up exclusively of members of our evangelical churches, acting in the name of the churches in such matters as the churches may be expected to approve in furthering goodwill between Jews and Christians.

The National Conference of Jews and Christians, on the other hand, is a voluntary organization with no official relationship to either the churches or the synagogues. It is rather a group of individuals who desire to carry on programs of a social and international nature in which Jews and Christians will act as one body.

As for our own Federal Council's Committee, there seems to me to be no doubt that the position of evangelical Christians, and their commitment to win the world to Christian faith and discipleship, is clearly recognized. As for the National Conference of Jews and Christians, it is understood, I believe, that it will not, as a Conference, engage in any proselyting activities, but this does not, of course, mean that the individuals are not free to carry on evangelistic work through other channels.

Perhaps I should also point out that it is an Advisory Council, and not an executive or directing committee, on which you, along with other Christian leaders, were invited to serve.

Let me know your judgment in the whole matter of your relationship to the Advisory Council and I will see that the confusing situation is cleared up.

Dr. Robert E. Speer
 156 Fifth Avenue
 New York City

Always cordially yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert
 SAMUEL MCGREA CAVERT
 General Secretary

SNC AS

STATEMENT

- of -

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS
Forty-one East Forty-Second Street
New York, N. Y.

.....

For Amity, Justice and Peace Between the Many Groups that Com-
prise America.

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(John W. Herring

Treasurer: Horace F. Howland, Vice-President, The Farmers Loan and Trust Company.

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F o r e w o r d

The National Conference of Jews and Christians has to do with the art of living together in a nation of one hundred ten million people and a thousand or so "isms" and races. It is especially interested in the hoary inquiry of how those who are Jews and those who are not Jews are solving their end of the problem. For into the harbor of New York have sailed ships from all corners of the world, so that of every four or five Jews in the world, one lives in New York.

The conference does not stop here. It is interested in the whole question of American group relations.

* * * * *

Nationally we are a riot of colors. Many of us are heartily glad of it.

The tinny "Americanization" racket has largely subsided - squelched by its own unimaginativeness. It was wisest in its demise.

But this does not alter the fact that there is a vast need of color harmonizing in our national life. The alternative to a war of colors is not necessarily drab gray or even Yankee blue. It may be rather a harmony in which there is no sacrifice of beauty or richness.

There are plenty of ostriches burying their heads over the problem of American relations.

* * * * *

New York City knows what we are talking about when we suggest that the problem of Jewish - non-Jewish relationships is not understood - let alone solved. For reasons deep rooted in history the Jewish people are the most important group in human annals who have sustained the habit of simplifying their group problem to the categories of "Jewish - non-Jewish". These are, of course, somewhat misleading categories. The problem of living together in New York is not "Jewish - non-Jewish" only. It is Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, Park Avenue, Long Island City, whites, negroes, Italians, Irish, Russian, Chinese.

All in all, in its constellation of perplexities, the intergroup problem of the nation rises like a specter in the path of democracy and dares her to come on. This, in brief, is the reason for democracy's present attack of the ague. Only a dauntless or a very stupid democrat doesn't feel his knees sag when he stands off to scan the picture.

* * * * *

It follows that the most delicate and baffling of the tasks of the social physician are with the casualties among conflicting groups. Lead-

ers of Christian churches in America and representative men and women from the national Jewish organizations have specifically undertaken to put their mutual affairs on a more neighborly basis. They are working through the "National Conference of Jews and Christians".

The Conference obviously sets itself to accomplish an original and very much needed piece of work. Experimental of necessity, it nevertheless moves forward to its task with optimism. It arises as a response to a deeply human sentiment, widely felt.

It sets itself, moreover, to no shallow or sentimental activity. It has bent its strength for a long educational pull and does not deceive itself with the hope of quick results.

It senses that the fine flavor of democracy is a rare thing, not capable of mass production. Democracy, to be true to itself, must produce an aristocracy of democrats, the warmth and richness of whose humanity will leaven the lump. America has had many such - The Rail Splitter and his kind, who have reminded us of the rareness and the charm, as well as of the warmth and faith, that inhere in the true democratic ideal.

* * * * *

In a letter issued to the supporters of the National Conference over the signatures of Charles Evans Hughes, Roger W. Straus and S. Parkes Cadman, the phrase, "Education in the highest sense" stands out. It is education which makes for mutual respect and appreciation - for instruction in human values. Only a people strong in its capacity to understand can transcend the difficulties that are bound to arise in a class-ridden society.

The fact that lifts this coalition of Jewish and Christian forces out of the ranks of amiable but rather sentimental "movements" is in the constructiveness of its project. It is no mutual admiration society, nor a confederation that meets to "highly resolve" this and that. Rather has it given teeth to the old idea that if two people agree to forget their differences and tackle a common antagonist, their differences will stay forgotten.

Separately, both Jews and Christians have felt it to be their responsibility to help eliminate strife and to bring peace between nations and industrial groups.

Now accepting each other as allies, Jews and Christians are beginning to wage these contests together. Heated contests they are, and as such are fit to weld abiding links between those who have entered such an alliance.

It is probable that there could be louder and more instant popular acclaim of a movement that simply sang antiphonal praises. But nausea would come swiftly on the heels of such a program. Deep cleavages need strong bridges. Only girders toughened on a worthy forge will serve -- and survive!

MAIN POINTS IN THE PROGRAM

Among the many educational plans the Conference is using are the following:

Open forums scattered through the larger cities in which the American Family in a most representative way gathers to thresh out social problems and acute issues;

Conferences in which our "religious varieties" and our economic classes meet for a period of days in central cities or summer haunts to study and discuss national and international questions;

Travel groups of mingled makeup in quest of a world viewpoint;

Community study groups - keen spirits in their quest of truth, and developing a catholicity of acquaintance and affections;

Exchange lectureships between Jewish and Christian schools, designed to impress both Jew and Christian with the fact that they are alike in the pride and sincerity of their beliefs.

PIONEERING IN DEMOCRATIC ADULT EDUCATION

This enterprise in co-operation, has already borne fruit in a series of community councils which have done signal pioneering work in the field of Adult Education. They have helped to pave the way for a new type of leadership in the educational life of the American city.

Europe has developed its great democratic movements of social and cultural education among adults. To date there has been no such conscious movement in America. Our national genius has largely spent itself in mass production, in science - in short, in tangible achievement. Democracy has been to us more of an accepted principle than a social religion to be studied, unfolded and practised.

This is the day of a change of emphasis. The allied zeal of Jew and Christian can appoint itself no nobler office than to assist the change.

CATHOLICITY OF THE CONFERENCE

It is significant to note the breadth of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Its Christian members are drawn from a score of denominations; its Jewish members from all groups. The International Order of B'nai B'rith, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Orthodox, as well as the Conservative and Reform, are represented, unofficially.

A BELATED ALLIANCE

Greater than the tasks which this alliance has set itself, is the fact of the alliance itself. Nineteen centuries have stood aside, sometimes in rancor, sometimes in pure narrowness, to permit the Twentieth Century to do that which, in part, should never have necessary at all.

"In part", for the National Conference works not merely for a reconciliation long overdue; not with the negating of prejudice and ill will, but with building new castles on the rock.

The co-operation of Jew and Christian will always, as now, be in the youth of its promise and power. It will be far-looking rather than in-looking. It will create rather than mend.

THE SHARE OF YOUTH

Of first importance is the share of young men and women in the Conference program. On its staff are some of the keenest and most forward looking student leaders in the country. America cannot find democracy in her adult institutions if she cannot find it in her colleges. The youth leadership of the Conference is steadily developing and extending a student life which is larger than any sect, class or race. In forums, in study groups, in conferences, the spirit of large mindedness is being set abroad among the students of America.

SOME ATTAINMENTS

Cooperative meetings on questions of peace and broad social problems in ten significant conferences held in colleges, summer conference points and central cities throughout the country. Men and women, youth and older people, have met for earnest and careful study of urgent problems without reference to creedal or other demarcations.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS

In five cities of a million or over, "All-American" educational councils have been formed with local financial backing totalling \$65,000 a year. These councils are "All-American", in that they bring members of the major religious, racial and economic groups into friendly working relationships.

The program of these community councils is summarized under the following heads:

A. Development of Discussion Groups in which members of the various religious, racial, or economic groups meet for fraternity and mutual education.

B. Speakers' service, aiding all kinds of organizations. The service seeks especially to aid groups that contain various elements in the population.

C. Special meetings, such as forums, neighborhood and community institutes, civic luncheons, inter-church-synagogue gatherings for the consideration of mutual problems; in short, the encouragement of gatherings where community acquaintance is bred, and creedal, color and other class lines submerged.

D. Vigorous service as a "linking up" influence in the city endeavoring to encourage a zeal for harmonious common effort among diverse groups. The director is the "liaison" in the community.

E. Special attention to the encouragement of the "Youth Movement" in clubs, conferences, forums, etc.

F. A definite educational agency in the community to work for understanding in every effective way.

G. The training of leadership for groups and for educational programs of other types listed above.

H. The coordination of various existing agencies. A survey shows that Cleveland with its remarkable record for social pioneering, presents even yet a "patchy" program for the social and cultural education of its citizens. Certain elements in the city are unintentionally over-organized, perhaps over-cultivated. Other elements, sometimes the greater parts of entire districts, are relatively untouched. Our community committees are working steadily upon the strategy of breaking this "new soil" which is found in every city.

TO SUM UP, the community council glimpses a new profession and a new field. In an age of sharply defined groups we need capacious men and women ministering to the whole community, in the field of social and cultural education just as the forward community already has a director of its philanthropies.

THE PRESS

The Conference taps the great resource of the press in many ways. Annually it provides a statement calculated to dramatize the words "American" and "Democracy", which receive conspicuous display in fifty metropolitan dailies on Thanksgiving Day.

Through the services of publicists and educators, the Conference places news and educational material before the public in news columns, editorials, journals and texts.

It seeks to avoid the propagandist note, striving rather to keep those vital facts and values before the public that quicken sympathy, tolerance and liking.

MOBILIZATION AGAINST INJUSTICE

The Conference in general doubts the wisdom of "attacking prejudice". Nevertheless there arise those gross and flagrant instances of injustice which command decent citizens to rally together and enter their vigorous protest. This the Conference leaders have done in certain marked outbreaks at home and abroad.

ADJUSTMENT OF VOCATIONAL DIFFICULTIES DUE TO DISCRIMINATION

The Conference is at work in this most difficult of fields, aiding the development of fair play between employers and employees and assisting necessary adjustments on the part of applicants for positions. The Conference sets its hand to no more timely or more human service.

THE CONFERENCE AS A STUDENT OF PREJUDICE

The whole problem of inter-group prejudice, by virtue of its complexity, demands much dispassionate study. Our generation is victimized by inherited attitudes, and by inherited sources of friction. These attitudes and sources are the subject of constant study by the Conference.

* * * *

Such is the program of the National Conference of Jews and Christians which is now submitted, for your approval and support.

STATEMENT
of
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

41 East 42nd Street
New York City

Samuel Mc C. Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

Northern Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ

Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Friends
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
National Council of the Protestant
Episcopal Church (Cooperating Agency)

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

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Mr. Speer

November sixteenth
1927

u. Religious Book Club

Dear Dr. Speer:

I think you will be interested in seeing something of the developments in the Religious Book Club, about which I was talking with you last fall. I enclose its first monthly bulletin.

There are already eight hundred members, and Mr. Geffen, who is handling the business end of it, tells me that he is quite certain that we shall have 2,000 within a few months.

I am still hoping that next spring, when the pressure of your responsibilities as Moderator is past a little bit, you will consent to serve as a member of the Editorial Committee.

Always cordially yours,

Samuel Mc Crea Cavert

SAMUEL MC CREA CAVERT
General Secretary

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

SMC AS
Enc.

Samuel McCrea Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

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Seventh Day Baptist Church
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DEC - 3 1927

REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

Dr. Speer

December 7th, 1927.

Dear Dr. Speer: *u. Representatives of Eastern Orthodox churches at Jerusalem*
u. Dr. Peck as delegate

I have been much troubled to learn indirectly through Kenneth Miller that it has been decided not to have any representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Churches in attendance at the Conference of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem.

I cannot help feeling that, if this procedure is followed, the missionary forces will both be making a grave mistake and be missing an important opportunity.

I am writing to you about my misgivings, before taking it up again with Dr. Warnshuis, because I am anxious to have my own judgment confirmed or corrected by your experience and your insight. In the first place, we must bare in mind that representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Churches have sat as full members of the International Conferences both at Stockholm and Lausanne. I should be most sorry to have the impression created that the missionary forces are less warm and generous in their fellowship than the Conferences on Christian Life and Work and on Faith and Order. That would seem to me to be incurring a rather unfortunate and needless handicap.

In the second place, the fact that the Conference is meeting in the very center of the life of the Eastern Churches would seem to make it doubly important not to ignore them. If the meeting were to be held in America or in England the absence of Eastern Orthodox representatives would occasion no comment, but their absence at a meeting held in Jerusalem could hardly help being conspicuous and appearing to be connected with a deliberate policy.

In the third place, and most important of all, it seems to me that the presence of representatives of the Eastern Churches at the Jerusalem Conference would afford ~~them~~ the great opportunity for infusing a new missionary spirit into the Eastern Churches. Do you not personally feel that there are great possibilities of the Eastern Churches having an immense influence in the evangelization of their Moslem neighbors, if only these churches can be inspired with sufficient moral and spiritual vision?

Another point which somewhat troubles me is that it has been decided that no provision is ~~being~~^{to be} made for Dr. Peet to be present as a delegate. I realize that the number of Americans who can attend is limited, but it seems a thousand pities not to have the valuable counsel of a man of Dr. Peet's unique experience with his contacts with the Eastern Churches. Personally I should think it far more important for Dr. Peet to be present than for me to be there and I should gladly withdraw if, ~~thereby~~, an opportunity could be made to have Dr. Peet attend and to use his presence as an occasion for trying to develop a rapprochement with the Eastern Churches in our missionary responsibility.

I shall be eager to know whether you share the judgment which I have expressed and, if so, whether you think something should be done to get reconsideration of the whole matter.

Always faithfully yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert

SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

SMC/H

J. E. Johnson
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

[Incorporated]

105 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK

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Research and Education

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W. R. WHEELER

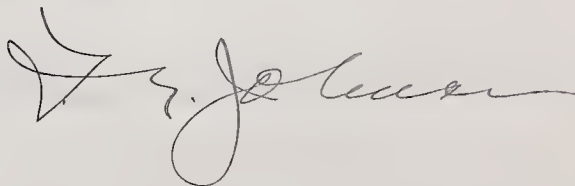
Mr. W. Reginald Wheeler
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I am sending you a second draft of the monograph on Mexico and a draft of one on Nicaragua. We are planning for an editorial conference on these manuscripts next week and will be glad to have any comments that you care to make.

I have no doubt that considerable modification is still needed in these documents at some points.

Sincerely yours,



FEJ:ET
Encs.

THE NICARAGUAN SITUATION

The General American Policy since 1900

The significance of the policy and present procedures of the United States in Nicaragua can be understood only in the light of its policies and procedures during the last three decades in Cuba, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Central America. These policies and procedures are here merely mentioned. They suggest social, psychological, political and economic factors involving the entire life of the peoples concerned and the relations of the United States to them and also to the entire Latin-American world.

The Two Parties in Nicaragua

Party politics in Nicaragua originated from the jealousy between the two chief towns in the country. There is comparatively little difference in principle between the two chief parties, the so-called Conservatives and the Liberals. The Conservatives have tended to strengthen the Catholic Church and the existing social order, while the Liberals have been more interested in furthering education, etc. Today the chief difference seems to be the vigorous opposition of the Liberals to American intervention. The Liberals are considered by many to be greatly in the majority. Granada, with its aristocratic class and its wealthy merchants, became the stronghold of the Conservatives; Leon, with a population of professional people, artisans and small landholders, was the stronghold of the Liberals. The Chamorros have been the leading family in Granada for years, the Sacasas in Leon.

Nicaragua's Strategic Position

Because of both its strategic importance and its resources Nicaragua is regarded as perhaps the most important Central American country. Its rivers and lakes provide waterways through so large a part of the country that it was long considered for the site of the canal instead of Panama - and it is still important in that connection. There are known to be important mineral deposits which have not been fully developed.

Zelaya and His Régime

From 1893 to 1909 Jose Santos Zelaya ruled Nicaragua as Liberal president and dictator. During his régime peace was maintained in the country by brutal methods. He was, however, progressive in many ways and did more to develop education than has been done since that time. The United States had two serious objections to Zelaya's rule. He was a troublemaker and, it is said, "kept Central America in constant tension and turmoil" (Munro, p. 228). What was probably more important was his anti-American attitude. He was more willing to grant concessions to Europeans than to Americans, and he opposed the United States government's efforts to secure a canal route through the country and Fonseca Bay, a very important strategic point on the west coast.

A series of revolutions and wars broke out in 1906 between the Central American States over the proposed route for the Canal which the United States was preparing to build.

Delegates from the five republics were accordingly invited to Washington in 1907 and after conference signed eight conventions designed to promote the unity and peace of Central America. A Central American Court of Justice was established and agreements were made to settle all disputes by use of this Court.

The Estrada-Diaz Revolution

In October, 1909, a revolution against Zelaya, headed by General Estrada, broke out in Nicaragua. It was financed by Adolfo Diaz, an employe of an American corporation. Although a poor man on a salary of \$1,000, he was able (as reported) to advance \$600,000 for the revolution.

The American Consul, Mr. Moffat, apparently knew in advance of the proposed revolution and wired Washington that the new government would be friendly to American interests".

For some time the United States remained "ostensibly neutral", although it is claimed that munitions and soldiers were transported by American vessels with the knowledge of the State Department's representatives. Whether or not these accusations are true, undoubtedly the United States welcomed an excuse for siding openly with the revolutionists.

The Revolution Supported by the United States

Secretary of State Knox, on December 1, 1909, broke off relations with the Nicaraguan Government and declared that the United States sided with the revolution, on the ground that Zelaya had executed two Americans who had been caught trying to dynamite a vessel loaded with Zelaya's men. American marines were thereupon landed and Zelaya at once fled from the country, leaving Dr. Madriz as his successor (December 21, 1909).

The revolutionists retreated to Bluefields, where the Madriz government was about to attack them by land and sea. The commander of the American warships, however, insisted upon sending American ships through the blockade, and on allowing the revolutionists to collect the customs at Bluefields. He also forbade the Liberal commanders to attack the town from the land or to shell it from the gunboats, on the ground that American and other foreign property would be endangered. The Liberal forces were unable to accomplish anything under these circumstances, and their government soon collapsed. From that time to the present the "pro-American" Conservatives under Chamorro and Diaz have been maintained in power by the military backing of the United States.

General Estrada declared himself (September 10, 1910) provisional president and at once sought American recognition.

The Dawson Pact

In October, 1910, T. G. Dawson, appointed by the Department of State, negotiated a secret pact - "on board an American warship" - with leading revolutionists, whereby American recognition was stipulated, indemnity for the execution of the two Americans was provided, plans were made for a "constitutional

government having suitable guarantees for foreigners" and American loans to the government were arranged for.

When the terms of the "Dawson Pact", to which General Estrada had agreed, became known to the liberals, strong opposition arose on the part of those who saw in the "Pact" the establishment of a virtual protectorate. The American minister cabled Secretary Knox that "an overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans is antagonistic to the United States." The Constitutional Assembly provided for in the "Dawson Pact" was nevertheless elected, November 27-28, 1910, General Estrada and Adolfo Diaz were unanimously elected (December 31, 1910) President and Vice-President respectively, and on January 1, 1911, President Taft gave them America's recognition.

The army was in the hands of General Mena, who also had aspirations to the presidency. General Emiliano Chamorro had the most influence in the convention. The constitution as drawn up by the convention, however, proved unsatisfactory. Mr. Munro says that the convention, rather than the President, would have had the actual authority in the state. Mr. Nearing says that the new constitution was directed against foreign control through loans and was therefore opposed by the American representatives in Nicaragua. Whatever the precise difficulty may have been, President Estrada dissolved the assembly and at once resigned. Diaz therefore became President.

Diaz and His Régime

Diaz was as unpopular as Estrada. He needed American support to keep him in office. The American minister wired Secretary Knox (May 11, 1911) that "... A war vessel is necessary for the moral effect." Knox replied that Diaz should not be allowed to resign and sent a war vessel.

On June 6, 1911, Secretary Knox planned a treaty which provided for an American loan of \$15,000,000 with which to liquidate all loans and debts and which gave control of Nicaraguan customs. The American Senate refused three times to ratify this treaty. But without the treaty, Brown Brothers and Seligman made a temporary loan of \$1,500,000, and Colonel Ham, recommended by Brown Brothers and appointed by Secretary Knox, became customs' collector. Then followed a long series of loans.

In July, 1912, a Liberal revolution against Diaz was started. On August 15, Major Butler and about 400 marines landed from Panama to protect American lives and financial interests. Eight American war vessels participated in the protection. These American forces crushed the revolution. An election was then held (November 2) in which American marines guarded the polls. Diaz was reelected for a term of four years, (1913-1916).

The revolution led to fresh loans by American bankers, on terms regarded as harsh not only by the Nicaraguan Congress but also by Diaz. The terms put both the railroad and the bank under the control of the American bankers, and for a short time the internal revenues as well.

The Bryan - Chamorro Treaty

Beginning in October, 1913, the State Department started negotiations for a canal route through Nicaragua. In accordance with the Bryan Chamorro

Treaty, signed in 1914 and ratified June 22, 1916, the United States paid \$3,000,000 for several concessions. These included the right to build the canal, the lease for 99 years of the Corn Islands, and a naval base in the gulf of Fonseca, with right to extend the lease for another 99 years. Costa Rica and Salvador protested the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty as infringing on their rights and appealed to the Central American Court of Justice, which the United States had helped to establish in 1907. The Court, by a four-to-one decision, decided in their favor. The United States and Nicaragua, however, declined to be governed by the verdict of the court, which resulted (1918) in its dissolution.

Two Chamorro Presidents

Opposition to the American controlled régime did not abate. General Chamorro was elected President in 1916, and a kinsman of his, Diego Chamorro, in 1920. Mr. Munro, describing the election of General Chamorro, says: "A supervised election...would probably have placed in office a president (Dr. Irias) whose avowed object was to expel the American bankers from the Republic and to terminate American influence in the governmentDr. Irias had been prevented from entering Nicaragua when he came home to conduct his campaign in August, and the Liberals had been warned that no candidate who had been associated with the Zelaya régime would be recognized by the United States if elected." General Chamorro, who was Nicaraguan minister to Washington, was taken to Nicaragua, to conduct his campaign, on an American cruiser as an indication of our interest in his election. He was of course elected, and at the election of 1920 a kinsman, Diego Chamorro, was elected President for the succeeding four years (1921-1924).

In 1921 an uprising against the Chamorro government took place. But Washington sent "10,000 rifles, several machine guns and several million rounds of ammunition", which enabled Diego Chamorro to regain control. In 1922, another uprising occurred, but by the help of American marines the Chamorro government again survived.

The Washington Conference of 1923

On invitation of the United States, representatives of the five Central American states met in Washington, (December 4, 1922) for conference under the guidance of Secretary Hughes. A treaty was signed (February 7, 1923) which provides among other things that these governments "will not recognize any other government which may come into power in any of the five republics through a coup d'état or a revolution against a recognized government". The treaty contained many details designed to inhibit revolutions and coups d'état. The United States was not a signatory to the treaty, but recognized that it was morally bound to act in accord with it.

In order to provide for fair elections an American expert (Professor H. W. Dodds) suggested by Secretary Hughes was appointed by the Nicaraguan Government to draft an electoral law. This law was adopted by the Government and the first election was held under it in October, 1924.

Solorzano and Sacasa

Hoping to secure a Government satisfactory to both parties, a moderate "Conservative", Solorzano, was nominated for President, and a moderate "Liberal", Sacasa, for Vice President. They ran against a straight Conservative ticket

with General Chamorro for President and won by a vote of 48,000 to 28,000. This coalition government took office January 1, 1925, and was at once recognized by all the Central American States and by Mexico and the United States.

General Chamorro's Coup d'état

The American marines were withdrawn September 1, 1925. On October 25, 1925, General Chamorro seized Fort Loma, dominating the capital, Managua, and compelled the President to make him (Chamorro) General in Chief of the Army. to place some of his personal friends in the Cabinet and to pay \$10,000 for the expenses of the coup d'état.

General Chamorro thereupon sent a large military force to capture the Vice President Sacasa, who, however, escaped, coming first to the United States to seek moral and material support. When unsuccessful, after several months he went to Mexico for the same purpose. Sacasa contends that he was for a time definitely encouraged by the State Department at Washington to believe that his claim would receive support from this Government.

General Chamorro also secured the expulsion from Congress of eighteen liberals on the ground that they had been fraudulently elected, and substituted the eighteen conservative candidates who had been defeated in the election. President Solorzano then resigned and the irregularly constituted Congress made Chamorro "Designate" (January 16, 1926). In accord with the Washington Treaty of 1923, his Government remained unrecognized by all other countries.

In May and again in August, 1926, incipient resolutions against General Chamorro started but were promptly suppressed by his troops. After several further efforts, however, the liberals succeeded in getting control of the entire east coast. Americans in Nicaragua thereupon appealed to the United States for protection.

Intervention by the United States

In October, 1926, Admiral Latimer, with the consent of both parties (the written agreement was made October 26, 1926) established a neutral zone at Bluefields; later at Corinto and successively at several other centers on the east coast where the Liberals had control.

An armistice was arranged in October and efforts were made to reconcile the two factions by means of the "good offices of the United States". At the so-called "Corinto Conference" General Chamorro offered to resign and permit Congress to elect a new President. Sacasa's delegates offered to submit the dispute to arbitration. The Conference ended when Sacasa's delegates withdrew saying that only the recognition of Sacasa would satisfy the claims of justice.

Hostilities were resumed October 30, 1926, on which date General Chamorro resigned, turning over the executive power to Sebastian Uriza, who thereupon (November 10, 1926) called a special session of Congress, had the eighteen irregularly seated Conservative members expelled and the eighteen Liberals resume their seats. Congress, consisting, according to President Coolidge but denied by Sacasa, of the members originally lawfully elected in 1924, then chose Adolfo Diaz as first "Designate" to be President. He assumed his duties November 11, 1926, was inaugurated on the 14th, appealed to the United States for military

help on the 15th and was recognized by the United States on the 17th. He was also promptly recognized by Honduras and Salvador.

Diaz or Sacasa - Which?

The election of Diaz to be President was justified, according to those who defend this act, because the Constitution requires Congress to choose a new President when either the President or the Vice-President for any reason is unable to serve ("defalto"). From October 26, 1925, until the end of November, 1926, Sacasa was admittedly out of the country for fear of his life and in order to secure outside help. Under these conditions, was Congress entitled to choose Diaz as President? The United States Department of State says "yes", Mexico says "no". Mr. W. S. Penfield, formerly legal adviser to the Nicaraguan legation in Washington, holds that Sacasa "is the legitimate President in Nicaragua today" (Current History, June, 1926).

The election of Diaz was held under Article 106 of the Nicaraguan Constitution, which reads as follows:

"In case of the absolute or temporary default of the President of the Republic, the executive power shall devolve upon the Vice-President; and in default of the latter, upon one of the Designates in the order of their election. In the latter case, should Congress be in session, it shall be its duty to authorize the entrustment of the office to the Representative whom it may designate, who must fulfill the requirements for President of the Republic."

It appears from this that the technical point at issue is the meaning of the Spanish word "defalto" and the sense in which it is here used. The word seems to correspond more closely with our word "disability" used in this connection than with our word default. The most plausible interpretation therefore seems to be that what is intended in Article 106 is that the "designate" is to serve in pro tempore capacity. It may be assumed that had Sacasa, when he returned to the country, been in position to assume the presidency, which in the normal course of things would have come to him upon the resignation of Solorzano, no question would have been raised as to the constitutionality of his status.

Hence the matter comes down to this, that Sacasa incurred an actual or de facto disability in being unable to assume the executive power on account of military opposition. His leaving the country was admittedly forced, and hence the title of Diaz rests indirectly, at least, upon a military coup by which Sacasa was driven out of the country and prevented from returning until he had mustered a sufficient force to do so safely.

Sacasa Recognized by Mexico

At the end of November, 1926, Sacasa returned to Nicaragua, set up his Government at Puerto Cabezas, was inaugurated by his followers on December 2, 1926, and was at once recognized by Mexico. Costa Rica and Guatemala refused recognition to Diaz but stated that they could not recognize Sacasa (whom they regard as the Constitutional President) because he did not have the actual power. In other words, they took the position that Sacasa was de jure president, but that the de facto government was in other hands.

Two days before the United States recognized him, President Diaz appealed to America for military help because, as he claimed, Sacasa had direct

military help from Mexico. President Diaz, since that date, has repeatedly charged Mexico with giving Sacasa military aid and with carrying on Bolshevist propaganda in Nicaragua. These assertions are vigorously denied by both Sacasa and the Mexican Government, but are upheld by President Coolidge in his Message to Congress of January 10, 1927.

President Coolidge placed an embargo on the shipment of arms to Nicaragua (September 15, 1926) and sought like action from Mexico, which was declined. President Coolidge accordingly (January 5, 1927) lifted the embargo so far as the Diaz Government was concerned.

Diaz Supported by the United States

During November and December Americans in Nicaragua repeatedly asked the United States for protection. Admiral Latimer (December 23, 1926) was accordingly given large liberty in establishing "neutral zones". This he did first at Puerto Cabezas, the Capital of the Liberal Government. This led to disarming both "liberal" and "conservative" forces in these zones, most of whom were presumably liberals. Vessels of war were also sent to Nicaraguan waters in increasing numbers, especially after the Liberal victories early in January, 1927. On January 12, 1927, the Washington Post gave their number as fifteen, carrying over 4,000 Blue jackets and marines. When American marines entered Managua, the capital, (January 6) they were welcomed with cheers and bands, for they guaranteed the eventual defeat of Sacasa.

The President's spokesman at the White House frankly stated on January 5, 1927, that the American policy in Nicaragua was not only protection of American lives and property but also conservation of those political rights and interests which had been secured in the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916.

President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg Report to Congress

President Coolidge sent to Congress on January 10, 1927, a message summarizing recent Nicaraguan history and stating the Administration policy regarding Nicaragua. And on January 12 Secretary Kellogg appeared before the Senate to explain in detail the reasons for that policy. The document released to the press presented his evidence of Mexico's Bolshevist propaganda as a menace to American interests in Central America. His citations relate chiefly to communists in Russia and in the United States. The three quotations from Mexico prove strangely enough that Labor openly resisted Communist activity in Mexico. Although Secretary Kellogg quotes a statement by Tchitchirin, Soviet Russia's Foreign Minister, to the effect that recognition by Mexico had provided "a political base in the new continent with the neighbor of the United States", he makes no mention of the reply by President Calles that Mexico would "not tolerate any abuse of good faith ---- or for the propagation of principles which we do not hold". Since Mr. Sheffield, the American Ambassador in Mexico, had complimented President Calles for this rebuff to the Soviet Government, the Department of State could not have been ignorant of it. The NEW YORK WORLD declared (January 14): "On analysis, Secretary Kellogg's charges against Mexico collapse ignominiously. His own citations prove that he has no evidence connecting the Mexican Government with the Communist International at Moscow." The next day, in commenting on this serious distortion of the situation, the WORLD characterized it as a "Shameful Performance."

Complications with Mexico

In the meantime, on November 24, 1926, Secretary Kellogg released to the press four notes between the Department of State and the Mexican Foreign Office regarding the petroleum laws, closing with the statement by Mr. Kellogg that the situation was "grave" and "extremely critical". The American press at once saw an intimation of withdrawal of recognition, possible lifting of the arms embargo, and even intervention on behalf of the property rights of Americans in Mexico. The press revealed the common belief that the real tension of the Nicaraguan situation lies in the oil and land issue between the United States and Mexico.

Revolutionary Attempts in Mexico.

On January 9, 1927, the long continued struggle between the Mexican Church and State took a new turn. Señor Garza, President of the League of Catholic Youth and Vice President of the League of Religious Defense, from his position of safety in the United States, proclaimed himself Provisional President of Mexico, and, in the name of religious and political liberty, announced the expected revolution. The Government responded with the arrest and deportation of Bishop Diaz, the official spokesman of the Hierarchy. Sporadic attempts at revolution are daily being reported in various parts of Mexico and also severe measures of repression by the Government.

Meanwhile de la Huerta in Los Angeles, Madero, and other Mexicans in the United States, are known to be prepared to enter Mexico as revolutionists as soon as suitable opportunity appears. The United States Government, however, is faithfully enforcing the arms embargo.

Senator Borah's Position on Nicaragua

On January 7, 1927, Senator Borah declared that Diaz is president "in violation of every provision of the Constitution and in violation of the five-power treaty of Central America, and is held there by the sheer force of foreign arms". Referring to the Bryan-Chamorro treaty giving the United States the right to build the Nicaraguan Canal, he declared that "that treaty was no treaty at all; it was nothing more than a treaty of the United States with itself."

After the statements of President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg had been carefully considered by the country, Senator Borah (January 13, 1927) vigorously criticised the Administration policy. He called the landing of American marines in Nicaragua an "unconscionable act of imperialism". His interpretation of the history of American policy in Nicaragua differs sharply from that of the Administration.

Attitude of Latin America

Press reports from Latin American countries show that those countries regard the United States as following a policy of selfish aggrandizement through economic imperialism supported by military force. Their sympathies are with Mexico. The Administration policy in Mexico, in the Caribbean area and in Central America seems to beget deep suspicions and ill-will among all Latin American countries.

Kenneth D. Miller

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

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Northern Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ

Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of Chris-
tian Social Service

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

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February 5, 1927

COMMISSION ON RELATIONS WITH
RELIGIOUS BODIES IN EUROPE

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REPRESENTATIVE, CENTRAL BUREAU FOR
RELIEF OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF
EUROPE
REV. ADOLF KELLER, SECRETARY IN EUROPE,
SONNEGGSTR. 16, ZURICH, SWITZERLAND

J. B. BROWN, REC'D
FEB 8 1927
INSO

My dear Dr. Brown:

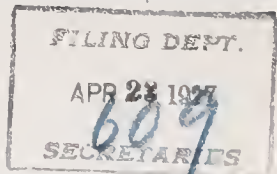
The book which Dr. Keller and Dr. George Stewart have been preparing for some time on "Protestant Europe" is to appear about March 1st. We have guaranteed the distribution of a number of copies and are anxious to have them placed in the hands of those who most need to be informed.

Inasmuch as the book deals rather extensively with *the American Committee on Minorities* the problem of minorities, I am wondering whether ~~you~~ would not be able to take, say, fifty copies for distribution in places where the information will be appreciated, or where it is needed.

We have received a reduced price from the publisher and so will be able to offer you the book at \$2.25 instead of the list price of \$3.50.

Faithfully yours,
Kenneth D. Miller
KENNETH D. MILLER

Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D.



RECEIVED

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22nd Street, New York

For release, Monday morning
April 25, 1927

A spirited reply to recent charges against the Federal Council of the Churches in connection with its activities in social and international questions has been made by the Administrative Committee of the Council. The statement, which was issued by Rev. John A. Marquis, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions and Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches, strongly insists on the right and the duty of the churches to hold up all public questions to the light of Christian ideals.

Dr. Marquis explained that the statement had special reference to the resolution introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Free in the closing days of the last session.

The statement declares that the Federal Council of the Churches "maintains no lobby of any kind" and that its one appeal is to "public opinion." It insists that the program of the churches "will in no way be modified by the unjustifiable attacks of forces which would, if they could, stifle the voice of the churches and weaken their influence in the life of the nation."

The full statement, issued by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, is as follows:

"The Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches welcomes at all times the fullest inquiry into its procedures and activities. It asks to be judged only on the basis of actual facts which any such inquiry reveals. But certain vague charges now being made against the Council disclose such a misunderstanding, both of the Council and of the Churches that comprise it, as to call for a prompt reply.

"1. It is charged, in the first place, that the Federal Council of the Churches 'is continually adding to its program undertakings distinctly non-religious in nature and outside the mission of the Church'.

" If such tasks as the cultivation of public opinion in support of better social and industrial conditions, the prohibition of the liquor traffic and the development of other means than war for settling disputes between nations are 'non-religious in nature and outside the mission of the Church', then the Federal Council gladly admits the charge. One of the very purposes for which the denominations organized the Council was to make their influence more effective in these and other great issues of right human relationships. It regards such questions as fundamental concerns of morality and religion. It cannot do otherwise than go steadily forward in dealing with them, since the constitution of the Federal Council, officially ratified by the twenty-eight denominations that constitute it, declares one of the aims of the Council to be 'to secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life'.

"So far as the charge implies that the Federal Council of the Churches maintains a lobby or enters into questions of a partisan political character, it is wholly without foundation. The Council maintains no lobby of any kind. Its one appeal is to public opinion. There is nothing whatever that is secret about any of its activities. It does nothing under cover. All its work is carried on under public gaze and scrutiny. It conforms at all times to the American theory of the value of free and open discussion.

"The Council seeks no control of any sort either for itself or for the Churches - it seeks only to hold all public questions up to the light of great moral ideals and thereby to help develop an enlightened conscience among the people. The Council rests upon the accepted American principle that citizens, collectively as well as individually, have the right to make known their views on any matter which they believe vital to the welfare of the country and the world.

"2. The accusation is made, in the second place, that the Federal Council 'is in no way a representative body'. This is completely false. The Council is organized throughout on a representative basis. The four hundred members of the Council as a whole, which meets once in four years; the one hundred members of the Executive Committee, which meets annually; and twenty-eight members of the Administrative Committee, which meets monthly, are appointed directly by the highest authorities in the several denominations that comprise the Council. No one, of course, would think of claiming that on any specific issue the 20,000,000 church members unanimously agree with the position taken by the members of the Council's governing bodies. It is equally true of each of the denominations separately that actions of its assemblies or conferences cannot be expected to express the mind of every individual in the denomination. No one can deny, however, that the utterances of the Federal Council are made only after full consideration by those whom the denominations have themselves appointed to deal with such matters in the Council.

"3. It is charged, in the third place, that the Federal Council is 'frequently working under the direction of radical groups affiliated with the Third Internationale'. There is no shred of truth in the allegation. The Council takes its positions without reference to or connection with any organizations except those of the Churches, and the well-known character and patriotic service of the men and women appointed by the various denominations to direct the program of the Council are in themselves sufficient answer to the baseless charge that they are associated with any groups inimical to the welfare of our country.

"4. The Federal Council is further indicted for having mistakenly espoused certain international proposals. It is accused, for example, of having supported the World Court, and having spoken for the Churches in this matter. We are proud to say that this is true. In doing so, the Council was simply voicing the judgment expressed by the various denominations again and again. Almost every major church body in the country has gone on record in favor of the World Court. Both the Council and the denominations which comprise it are committed to a constructive program of developing friendship and goodwill among the nations and of building up international agencies for attaining security and justice without the necessity of resort to violence.

"With reference to immigration, to take an illustration of the falseness of certain of the charges, not only did the Council not oppose laws for 'the exclusion of undesirable immigrants' but it actually favored a restrictive

quota plan. The Council did oppose discriminating against the Japanese in this quota law, and in taking this position it was supported by the action of the boards of foreign missions in the several denominations. To attack the Federal Council for dealing with these matters is to attack the churches themselves, for the Council has simply done as a unit what many denominations have done separately.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasized that, in these and all other questions of public welfare, the Federal Council of the Churches seeks to discover the high common mind of the constituent denominations and then to speak and act in their behalf. This is what the Council has done in the past. This is what the denominations expect it to continue to do in the future. Its course will in no way be modified by the unjustifiable attacks of the forces which would, if they could, stifle the voice of the Churches and weaken their influence in the life of the nation."

J. S. Johnston

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MAY 29 1923

SECRETARIES

Com Antonio Leo

4-21-23

Dear Dr. Oger

I am enclosing you a clipping from the last issue of the World's Work. It is taken from the front page, and is, I suppose, an official utterance. I am quite sure that you would not have written in such a spirit of levity on a subject of such gravity and importance. The only possible way to bring about any lasting unity is to deal such other - with perfect fairness, and in a spirit of fraternity & sincerity.

The writer did not seem to appreciate the ^{seriousness} ~~importance~~ of the situation by which the Episcopal Church is confronted. It holds in its membership two schools of thought that apparently are hopelessly antagonistic.

but both of them standing for a part
of the whole (i. e. Catholic) truth, and
must be embraced in any scheme
of Unity, that is to be universal.

The Conference held last year be-
tween the Bishops of the Anglican Church
and leading ministers of the Free Churches
agreed that any plan for unity, that
would prove permanent, must be
based upon a valid ministry rec-
ognized by all. They also, I think,
unanimously, agreed that some form
of episcopacy, was essential to meet
such a need.

That agreement must be fairly
& honestly faced, by the over 100
different kinds of Protestantism that
exist here in America, and which
is the greatest obstacle to that unity
for which we had prayed; and
without which, we can never hope
to ever believe that He is the
Son of God, and my Savior.

It is too serious a matter to try
to keep it out of Court.

It is not so much a case of hum-

or that hinders ^{the} progress in the di-
rection of unity for which our
Lord prayed, but a loss of serious-
ness on the part of those who do
not seem to appreciate the gravi-
ty of the situation, which threatens
the message of our whole civilization,
falsely called Christianity. It is re-
ally paganism slightly veneered
with Christianity. Possibly the best-
thing that could happen to it, would
be to let it be destroyed, that out of
the genuine fragments a new and
better civilization, saturated with the
real truths of our Lord's teachings,
might be built up.

Such substantial majority in the
House of Bishops which voted for full
affiliation with the Federated Com-
m-
-ion, descend more sympathetic
treatment than they descend at the
hands of their anonymous writer in
the Christian Worker. It is thoughtless
attitudes like that that make so
many of our people doubtful of the
wisdom of full affiliation with

an organization composed of such heterogeneous elements as that, one is; and whose Modernity makes it impossible for them to properly appreciate the value of the ancient foundations upon which the Church of Christ is built, which has enabled it to survive them so many centuries.

Much of this present day theology is headed as thought towards Arianism as was that of the 4th century, from which the Nicene Creed ~~was~~ rescued it.

Scarcely all of this new theology is based on the absolute denial of all miracles of every kind in the Bible and of it, which would deny with it the virgin birth and the Resurrection of Jesus. There goes and there would ~~be~~ nothing left worth counting for. Bad Athism. Modern Arianism. Mormonism. Eddyism, and all the rest, must be recognized as more or less, parts of the One Church of Christ, His Body, the Pillar & Ground of the Faith, outside of which

there is no redemption, ~~except~~ ^{only so far} as we see fit to make exceptions.

I did not intend to inflict on you such a long and troubling discourse; but we old superannuates, with nothing to do but to wait ^{for the boat}, are hard to stop when we get started.

I think our Convention ought to overlook some of our short comings when they remember what contributions to the world we have made in that model ministry, call him Bishop or what not, - Bishop Tuttle - and that model layman Robt E Lee.

That dear old Deint, ^{my D} grand in his humility & simplicity, entered Paradise a few days ago and his body was laid to rest in Mother earth yesterday, awaiting the general Resurrection. As some one said when Moody passed up, "all heaven rose to give him the Chateauguo Oatuli". I think he had

^{similar}
a reception,

There is nothing here for publication, I only hope that it will result in your using your great influence in the Council to curb the utterances of some of the writers in the Christian Witness. It is doing too much good to have it marred by such articles as the one I have sent you. I don't think that it is thinkable that Dr. Dymock could have committed such a blunder.

With kindest regards, and some glorious recollections of St. Andrew's Methodist Conventions, in which I used to delight, I am
yours faithfully

J. S. Johnston
One of those incidents was when you immediately followed our Bishop Des-
sauer. I think it was at Louisville.

You may recall it. One of the ^{peculiarities} ~~features~~ of his early days, was the wonderful way in which he came before the ^{multitude} ~~congregation~~ with torrents of words, rising in an ascending scale of adjectives to a climax.

He has greatly improved with age & experience.

JOHN J. EAGAN
CITIZENS & SOUTHERN BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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OCT 23 1923

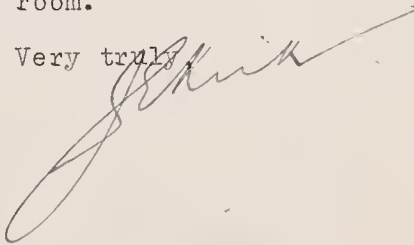
SECRETARIAT

October 18, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
New York.

Dear Dr. Speer:

Mrs. Eagan desires, in Mr. Eagan's behalf, to thank you for your message of today and to assure you that it is deeply appreciated. You will be glad to know, I am sure, that we continue to have favorable reports from the sick room.

Very truly,


Susie P. Wadsworth

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MAY - 7 1923

My dear Dr. Speer:

May 11, 1923

~~Shd. be Dr. Speer~~

Enclosed please

find my small contribution
to The Federal Council.

I wish it were more, but in the
multiplicity of pressing calls for
help, what can one do?

I cannot let this oppor-
tunity pass to thank you

Fed. C. 5-5 - Rec'd 5/5/23 }
Financial Dept. }

for your kind and beautiful
words about my father.

We treasure them.

Your friend most sincerely

Susie P. DuBois

May 2, 1923

Sewanee

Tennessee

MAILING DEPT.

JAN 4 1924

SECRET

November 18th 1923.

Federal Council of The Churches of
Christ in America,
105 E. 22d Street,
New York, N. Y.

R. E. Spear, President,
Dear Brother:-

Allow me to direct your attention to a PEACE PLAN in the form of "John Doe's Letter to The President", a copy of which is enclosed. The original was sent to President Coolidge, and a duplicate to the American Peace Award Sept. 21st (the name of course being fictitious).

I see that when the contest was closed on Nov. 15th, 22,165 plans had been submitted, and may it not be that with the vast number before them, a meritorious Plan might not receive the full consideration to which it should be entitled? Acting on this hypothesis I lay this before you, and give you a free hand to give it publicity through the Associated Press, at any time after the President shall have given his message to Congress, in case you deem it advisable so to do.

The writer is a Protestant, deep dyed in the wool, he, his parents, grandparents and great-grandparents American born, and he is in hearty sympathy with all the forward steps of your Honorable Council. We are a Protestant Christian Nation, Progressive Protestants, and our reliance must be in the Lord.

Pray take time personally to read this Plan. I believe it is the Plan the Nations must adopt in order to reach World-wide Financial Rehabilitation, without which the chaotic conditions will remain. While it is not in any sense a party measure, it will be highly popular in the Middle West, the West and the South, and looked upon with favor by many in the East. Apart from the "frozen claims" of the Government, there are many exporters and merchants and "others" (Banks) in the East who also are carrying "frozen claims", and they certainly ought to look with favor on any practicable way out of their dilemma; they surely should support the reestablishment of money and credit abroad. The gold standard is oppressive to the masses, cold, heartless and cruel, and we should take the lead in correcting it, and in doing so, build broadly as is shown in this Plan. The remedy is within reach, let us push forward, in God's name, to the goal.

The Peace Award have announced they expect to reach a decision about Jan. 1st. Every hour, every day that America delays action do we hold the World in suspense and postpone relief. It seems to me if your Council were to give this forth immediately after the assembling of Congress it would give Congress and the people opportunity to consider the Plan during the remaining three or four weeks necessarily required by the jury to review the many plans before them. And I lay the facts before you so that in case you should give it publicity you may incorporate as much or as little in any announcement you may make in connection therewith.

The Plan was worked out at greater length and sent to President Harding before any announcement was made of the Peace Award. The writer was just considering giving it to the public when the Award was published. He then abridged the same to bring it within the limit, and sent it to President Coolidge.

In sending it to the Award he said that because of the crucial conditions abroad, he had an almost irrepressible impulse to send it forth, but that through courtesy to the Policy Committee and the Honorable jury he would withhold the same until Congress assembled, when he would feel at liberty to publish it. He sent a copy of the first letter to Lloyd George, and received a cordial and appreciative letter in acknowledgement, saying it was very thoughtful and considerate to give him the opportunity to read the manuscript. Copies of the second were sent to the British and French Ambassadors to America, saying that in case the Peace Award should not see their way clear to publish it, he intended to do so, and when it should go to publication, they would feel at liberty to publish it abroad, in case the Plan should meet with their approval. So the pins are set to save time in case you should decide to send it forth in advancement of any announcement by the Peace Award. Personally I would be highly gratified if your Council would do so. Would it not arrest the attention of the belligerent peoples on the other side, and divert their thoughts from war to peace? If they can but be shown a way out hope will replace despair. We should relieve them in every way possible, and the sooner the better.

Can we not lay this at the feet of the Lord as one of the trophies of victory of the great Protestant bodies of America? Is not the responsibility laid at your door? Pray render your account unto the Lord.

I do not see that any correspondence is necessary, but in case you should desire to communicate with the writer, a letter addressed to the undersigned will reach him. Should you perchance learn the name of the writer let it remain secret. This would enable you to send it forth as coming from an American citizen, unknown to you, set forth as one of the Plans which you have been privileged to publish by the writer in advance of a decision, that it may be considered during the remaining time necessary to review the many plans presented.

Assuring you of our prayers, I am,
Fraternally yours,
John Doe.
204 Gady Street,
Tampa, Florida.

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JAN 4 1909
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SECRETARY

JOHN DOE'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

A PEACE PLAN.

THE UNITED STATES A PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN NATION.

"THE ROYAL THIRTEENTH."

SUMMARY.

A CONGRESS OF THE NATIONS TO ASSEMBLE AT WASHINGTON AS THE GUESTS OF THE UNITED STATES: LOOKING TO THE SCALING DOWN OF AMERICA'S FOREIGN CLAIMS, INCLUDING OUR CLAIM AGAINST BRITAIN: THUS REDUCING THEM TO A FAIR AND EQUITABLE BASIS AS AGAINST THE FRIENDLY NATIONS WHO JOINED ISSUES IN THE WORLD'S DEFENSE: INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM, PROVIDING A HIGHER COINAGE RATE FOR SILVER: ALL PROFITS TO ACCRUE TO THE GOVERNMENT TREASURIES: IN ORDER TO WIDEN OUT THE UNDERPINNING, AND LAY A MUCH BROADER METALLIC BASE FOR THE MONEY SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD: AND TO PROVIDE MEANS WHEREBY IT WILL AUTOMATICALLY EXPAND TO KEEP PACE WITH THE INCREASING POPULATION. FINANCIAL REHABILITATION: THE REVISION OF THE SYSTEMS, AND THE REPLACEMENT OF THOSE THAT HAVE FALLEN DOWN BY BUILDING ANEW ON THE DOUBLE-STANDARD BASE: THE UNIVERSAL ADOPTION OF THE DOLLAR, WITH ITS DECIMAL FEATURE, AS THE UNIT OF VALUE AND EXCHANGE: AND THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEMS, PATTERNING AFTER OUR FEDERAL RESERVE BANK SYSTEM: THE RETURN TO THE KEEPING OF COVENANTS, AND JUST WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, FAIR DEALING AS BETWEEN MEN AND NATIONS: GOOD WILL, AND OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS OF GOD AND MAN. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES, THE EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE: SUCH CONGRESS TO THEN AND THERE ADOPT THE FUNDAMENTAL GROUNDWORK FOR A CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT WILL OUTLAW WARS, AND FIX PENALTIES: THE STRENGTHENING OF THE STATUS OF THE WORLD'S COURT: AN AVAILABLE POLICE GUARD: MEANS FOR ENFORCING JUDGMENTS AGAINST NATIONS IN DEFAULT: AND FOR THE ENFORCING OF REPARATION CLAIMS: PARTIAL DISARMAMENT, AND WORLD PEACE AND GOOD WILL, AT LEAST AS AMONG THE UPRIGHT NATIONS.

"Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him, and unto our God, for He will abundantly pardon."

JAN 4 1924

2.

HIS EXCELLENCY, CALVIN COOLIDGE,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The announcement of Your Excellency immediately after your ascension to the Presidency, "I believe that God is directing the destinies of our Nation", rest assured, struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the American people. Our reliance must be in the Lord.

The word "Executive" denotes the power of the Nation vested in one to enforce the Nation's will. To this end he is made the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. We have besides enlarged his powers to include the initiation of the foreign policies, and, to a considerable degree, the domestic, and given him a hand in the formation of laws. Unquestionably the people have given Your Excellency their confidence. The need of the hour is for a strong Leader; of wisdom, determination and nerve; of undaunted courage, and who will not compromise with the Devil anywhere along the line, even as we confidently and expectantly anticipate will be forthcoming in the administration of Your Excellency. Not only do we need such, but the other Nations need the sustaining influences that would result from such an example, do they not?

We, Protestant America, who stand for the open Bible, and liberty within the law, and, save in the measures wherein we have been remiss, for justice and righteousness and truth; situate on this side of the Pond, and without any designs of conquest, hold the cards. Ours is a strong hand for service to the people of the Lord, and they are in every Country and tribe and color and people. We hold the key. Are we equal to the emergency? The eyes of the World are upon Your Excellency with keener interest than upon any other individual at this time. It means much for mankind. Know that the prayers of the good people are offered up for Your Excellency, and your loved ones, for the worthy members of your Cabinet; of the Senate and the House; and the Judiciary, in this period of reconstruction, when grave responsibilities rest upon each and all. Pray bear in mind the words

of the Prophet:

"BUT HIS BOW ABODE IN STRENGTH," (JOSEPH'S BOW: EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH'S BOW),
AND THE ARMS OF HIS HANDS WERE MADE STRONG
BY THE HANDS OF THE MIGHTY ONE OF JACOB
(FROM THENCE IS THE SHEPHERD, THE STONE OF ISRAEL):
EVEN BY THE GOD OF THY FATHER, WHO SHALL HELP THEE,
AND BY THE ALMIGHTY, WHO SHALL BLESS THEE."

And the Prophecy of Christ:

"WHOSOEVER SHALL FALL UPON" (SHALL MAKE WAR UPON) "THAT
STONE SHALL BE BROKEN, AND ON WHOMSOEVER IT SHALL FALL,
IT SHALL GRIND HIM TO POWDER."

In this time of "Distress of Nations" (long ago foretold), there is much restlessness and discontent. A great wail is going up from Europe and Asia. Who can not hear the S. O. S. call? ("Save, O, Save?") And, indeed, from Russia, and others? We should not attempt to minimize the extremely serious aspects of the situation. It does not require a particularly keen observer to see that the chaotic conditions of Europe, if not relieved, will breed war. That if war breaks forth it will be carried on with greater ferocity than ever before? That it is much easier to prevent war before war is declared than to stop it after it has been declared?

Who needs to be advised that the situation is critical? Imminent? That the invasion of the Ruhr is practically a state of war? That Europe needs peace? Relief from her unbearable burdens? Not one, two or three years hence, but NOW?

THAT EUROPE'S TROUBLES ARISE IN GREAT MEASURE FROM THE DISTRESSING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS? That a most important function of a Government is to stabilize its monetary system, and, failing in this, her standing is lost, the medium of exchange broken; the people can neither buy or sell; commerce destroyed; traffic ruined? And the consequent, the Ministry falls; the people lose confidence in the Government, the Banks, in one another; then they default, and universal trouble follows.

When this state of desperation takes hold of them, and the food supply fails, men, who under normal conditions would be good citizens,

4.

become indifferent to the Nation's laws; lawlessness and anarchy are at the threshold; life becomes cheap. It is then but one step to war. A single shot may start the conflagration.

There are many of us who feel that America has been derelict altogether too long already. As to foreign affairs, every day, every hour that we postpone action, by just so much do we prolong their period of distress: do we hold them in the grip: the World in suspense, and postpone relief; and this after all they have endured heretofore. With the flower of their manhood drenched in blood; with all their suffering and sorrow, they cry out for sympathy, and for the helping hand of a friend: and we in America continue to oppress them, and demand the payment of claims that are impossible: the full measure of the bond, principal and interest in gold; their Treasuries already being depleted of gold. The law of God is, "THOU SHALT NOT OPPRESS."

There are millions of parents in America who feel as the writer does, that war is avoidable in case the Executive and Congress act quickly. How long things will hold together as they are going no one can foretell. That good will can only come when justice, tempered with mercy is done: that up to date America has not done her full part: and that if war breaks out from causes which were preventable by the prompt and effective action of the United States, it will be an awful blot on our good name. God knows I do not want to be a party to it.

The writer is impressed that certain of our National policies, some of them, true, coming down to us from decades past, are positively wrong, and, with all deference, but without evasion, avails himself of a citizen's privilege, and enters his protest in the form of a letter to Your Excellency. Is not the time ripe for correcting them?

Our foreign claims arise from the sale of goods, in the time of their dire necessity, at double or more of the prices in normal conditions, and to our Allies who burned up their wealth in the World's defense, making the situation, notwithstanding they were the victors, very trying; and when our claims are still added at the extortionate prices (\$0.40 for copper:

\$2.50 for wheat, plus interest): the conditions become simply unbearable.

Our claim against Britain was renewed, merely renewed: I, for one, do not count it a settlement, for nothing is ever settled till it is settled right; and, all things considered, it was not right. We attempt to hold Britain for the full (\$4,800,000,000.00) and she passes the compliment on to France, her claim being \$3,000,000,000.00. We hold France for the full (\$3,844,000,000.00) and she makes impossible conditions for Germany: and there we are, impending war. Furthermore, our demand, except as to Britain, impairs their credit, and still further imperils their money systems; and thus we are directly contributing to the continuance of the chaotic conditions abroad.

THE FOREIGN CLAIMS AND THE REPARATIONS ARE INSEPARABLE. I BELIEVE FURTHERMORE THAT INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM, GIVING SILVER A MUCH HIGHER COINAGE VALUE, THE PROFITS TO GO TO THE GOVERNMENT TREASURIES, SO AS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE NATIONS TO HAVE A SUFFICIENTLY BROAD MONETARY BASE, THAT THEY MAY CREATE BANKING SYSTEMS, PATTERNING AFTER OUR FEDERAL RESERVE BANK SYSTEM, IS POSITIVELY NECESSARY TO REMEDY THE TROUBLE, AND THEREFORE INSEPARABLE FROM THE OTHER TWO. ALL THREE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AT THE SAME TABLE.

Let us retrospect.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S ORDER OF THE DAY.

"There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

Every position must be held to the last man: there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon each one of us at this critical moment."

God bless them. We must live and let live.

ADJUSTED COMPENSATION.

As the opening move let the adjusted Compensation measure be speedily disposed of, even though , for the moment, we issue fresh bonds to cover it. Then America can look her own sons and daughters in the face. They were underpaid: \$33.00 per month. Such should include the women in the service as well as the men. The Allied Armies, being the Armies of the Lord of Hosts

against the Despotic Powers of Satan. It should not be called by the offensive term "Bonus". It is compensation, honorably earned, for which the Government has been in default from the hour of their discharge. "Property rights"? "The rights of persons"? These, incidentally, were some of the things the men in the service went across to protect. All of us did not go across. Let us not deny them theirs.

INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM.

GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCTION AND STOCKS.

In the very inception of the movement for Financial Rehabilitation, it is imperative that America, along with the others, shall adopt International Bimetallism at an agreed ratio, with free and unlimited coinage, and use the double-standard as the basis for their circulating medium, making all bonds and notes, public and private, redeemable in either. It should not be permissible to make any bond, note or promise to pay, payable exclusively in gold or in silver. Both should be given full legal tender value by all Nations and peoples.

Likewise at the inception, the Governments themselves, controlling the operations of their Mints, should instantly commandeer all the stocks of silver, silver certificates, bullion and coins, and redeem them in other forms of money. And, in order to lay an adequate metallic base, on which to build their new Banking and Money Systems, recoin the silver at a much higher rate. This would permit of achievements in Financial Rehabilitation, impossible of attainment under the present coinage values.

The comparative stocks of gold and silver which have accumulated in the centuries past, reckoned at the coinage value of \$20.67 gold and \$1.29 of silver per ounce, show 78.4 per cent of gold as to 21.6 per cent of silver. The stocks of silver would have to be melted up and recoined at \$4.66 per ounce to put the two on a 50-50 basis. If recoined at \$3.00 per ounce, the ratio would be 60.9 per cent of gold to 39.1 per cent of silver.

America's profit by recoinng, say, at \$4.00 per ounce, would be

----- \$1,600,000,000.00.

We might loan this excess silver to foreign countries so as to assist them to get their economic poise; or we could retire bonds, and as the new money

goes forth retire contemporaneously Federal Reserve Bank Notes, dollar for dollar, thus leaving our volume of money undisturbed. It is all easy when "the powers that be" once catch the vision of it.

The supply of gold, even though supplemented by the white metal, limited to the present coinage rate, is inadequate as the basis for the World's circulating medium. It is altogether too narrow: too contracted to meet the needs of the human family. It is highly oppressive, and a serious mistake to cling to it longer. The United States, whose population is one sixteenth that of the Globe, holds 44.6 per cent of the total supply: and we do not have any more than we need to comfortably carry on. (Would God that the other Nations had the same. We have it in our power to contribute much to such end without the least injury to ourselves. God is the witness.) In fact the financial chaos abroad is having the effect to backwater upon us, demoralizing our markets, to our great discomfiture. The World can not get relief so long as it clings to the present standard of coinage values. The population is increasing, but not so with the production of gold and silver under the handicap imposed by the Leaders of the Nations. It is falling off. It is serious. It spells paralysis. It is a crime against the people to cling to it longer: nothing short of a crime.

GOLD PRODUCTION.

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| World's production annually 1906-1917, inclusive, | \$443,085,099.00 |
| 1918, 1919, 1920 - - - - - | <u>371,520,000.00</u> |
| Yearly loss, - - - - - | 71,565,099.00 |
| The United States, 1915, - - - - - | 101,035,700.00 |
| 1920 - - - - - | <u>51,186,900.00</u> |
| Loss, - - - - - | 49,848,800.00 |
| U. S. consumption industrial arts 1920 - - - - - | 82,215,087.00 |

As prosperity increases the tendency is to consume a larger amount of both gold and silver in the arts. Here we consume about 72 per cent of gold, and 33 cents of silver per person yearly. It is estimated that nearly one half the World's output of gold is used in purposes other than coinage. The World's annual production of gold is but 24 cents per capita. This to meet the demand for coinage and the arts.

SILVER PRODUCTION.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| World annually 1906 - 1917 - - - - - | \$254,216,000.00 |
| Average, 1918, 1919, 1920 - - - - - | <u>226,538,231.00</u> |
| Annual decline - - - - - | 27,677,769.00 |

Annual World's production of silver is but 14 cents per capita.

This also to meet the demand for coinage and the arts. There has been a vast amount of lying by the selfish interests about silver. As though it were abundant, like iron and copper. Whereas, in the 6000 years we have been able to accumulate stocks of but ONE OUNCE PER PERSON, and now produce but 14 cents annually per capita. Truly it is one of the TWO PRECIOUS METALS.

The low production of both gold and silver should be a matter of universal concern. The known gold fields are being rapidly exhausted, and the only hope lies in encouraging the production of silver from the low grade silver mines (impossible to work at the present value of silver) which ores carry some gold as the by-product. Even if the present stocks ^{were} adequate, the production of both metals is not such as to keep pace with the increasing population. The trouble lies in the base of the structure: in the underpinning: It is topheavy and tottering, and on the verge of collapse.

The production of silver in the United States

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1920 - - - - - | \$ 60,801,955.00 |
| Used in the arts - - - - - | 36,687,132.00 |

GOLD STOCKS IN THE WORLD.

The World's known stocks of gold end of 1920,

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| (World Almanac 1922) - - - - - | -8,235,826,000.00 |
| Population, say, 1,732,000,000 Gold per capita - - - - - | 4.76 |

The United States held gold in the Treasury, in the Banks and in circulation June 30, 1922 (World Almanac 1923) \$ 3,656,988,551.00
Being 42.5 per cent of the World's stocks, or per capita 34.00

SILVER STOCKS IN THE WORLD.

Total stocks end of 1920, reckoned at \$1.29 per ounce \$ 2,275,133,000.00
Silver stocks but \$1.30 per capita, (1,763,679,000 ounces), or ONE OUNCE PER PERSON, A MERE BAGATELLE.

(Gen. 23:16. "And Abraham weighed to Ephron - - - four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant.")

The United States held silver in the Treasury, the Banks and in circulation, end of 1920 - - - - - \$590,493,000.00
 26 per cent of the whole, or per capita - - - - - 5.60

Eliminating the United States, gold per capita \$3.29, as to \$34.00 here, and silver \$1.03 as to \$5.60 (THREE QUARTERS OF AN OUNCE PER PERSON.)

A statement just received from the Director of the Mint shows our gold holdings had gained from the foregoing up to August 1st 1923, \$421,580,061.00, and silver \$170,807,741.00, which means a corresponding shrinkage abroad. It threatens complete paralysis. It is crucial.

It is not difficult to perceive where their woes come in. But create conditions so as to defeat men in all their undertakings in life and something will break loose. There will be a vent, even to the extreme of war. Let us take the hint from the things that have already happened - Wars, Pestilences, Famines, Earthquakes, Distress of Nations, all of which were foretold, and evidently they forecast the early return of the Lord - and correct the fundamentals. The things that are right are eternally right. Do we, who are overflowing in abundance, dare bring down upon us further plagues? Earthquakes, to wreck our cities, drouth, one, two, three years, for the Country? Nay, let us heed the command of the Lord: "Cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

"With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Our total stock of money (every dollar at par) August 1st
 1923 - - - - - \$8,647,824,926.00
 Population 111,386,000. Total money per capita--- 77.60.

Now truly the peoples abroad misunderstand America. They assume that we are selfish and grasping. That not content with our holdings we would press them for the rest of it. We are all painfully aware that we have an element of this type, but I declare that that does not

voice the hearts of the American people. We are a Protestant Christian Nation, and we have it in our hearts to do right before God. We have drifted into this. We spent upwards of 25 billions in the war, and still owe 21 billions on account of it. We paid these high prices and turned the stuff over to them. But let us reach an equitable settlement, and charge the losses up to war, and let us get what is coming in live bonds instead of "frozen claims", as now.

England demonetized silver in 1870, Germany in 1871, the United States in 1873; and the ^{Latin} Monetary Union, ^(France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Switzerland) becoming disheartened, in 1877. Followed by the Scandinavian Countries; later by Russia, Austria, Japan, Mexico, and others, resulting in almost the general adoption of the gold standard. Having been a party to its overthrow, we should take the lead in restoring it; AND WHILE DOING IT, DO IT IN A WAY TO BENEFIT THE WHOLE HUMAN FAMILY, AND THUS BRING A GREAT BLESSING OUT OF A CURSE, AND WIPE THIS OFFENSIVE ENTRY OFF THE MAP. THIS IS DEMANDED BY THE EXIGENCIES OF THE HOUR.

LET THE SILVER BE ACQUIRED BY THE GOVERNMENTS, AND MELTED UP AND RECOINED AT \$3.00, \$3.50, \$4.00, OR \$4.66 PER OUNCE (AND THE LAST NAMED MAY BE THE MOST PRACTICABLE VALUE TO ADOPT). LET THE SPECULATORS BE GIVEN DRASTIC PENALTIES.

If Bimetallism ever caused the export of one or the other of the precious metals it is proof only that the arena in which it worked was too restricted. Enlarge the field by an Agreement between even the leading commercial Nations, and it will be proof against any fluctuations in value. The parity will be maintained, and all clouds and bubbles will disappear. The people care very little about the color of the stuff, yellow or white: our silver certificates are just as acceptable as the gold; what we want is a safe and sound monetary base, acceptable to all Nations and peoples, and of sufficient quantity to lubricate the exchange, and facilitate handling the commerce of the World.

There is an unhappy misapprehension of the difficulties and the cost of producing silver. The metallurgists have finally solved the problems, but

the recovery of the white metal is necessarily very expensive. The low production of but 14 cents tells the story.

Such silver bearing ores as remain are low-grade sulphide ores: very complex: rebellious ores: mixtures of antimony or arsenic sulphides with sulphides of silver and base metals. Low grade iron-sulphides, or zinc-sulphides, carrying also \$1.00, \$2.00, \$3.00 or \$4.00 gold per ton. Nineteen-twentieths are refractory: scarcely any cyaniding: very few free-milling: expensive to produce and expensive to treat. Core-drilling, shaft-sinking, tunneling, mining, timbering, pumping, mountainous road building, transporting, magnetic-separating, concentrating, roasting, and smelting, bring^{ing} the coke, coal and flux from distant fields. Cost to recover, frequently from \$3.00 to \$4.00 per ounce of silver. Of what value to the World are such mines in Alaska, Russia, South America, South Africa, or Asia Minor?

Notwithstanding the Creator has provided the precious metal for man, and has shown us how to go and get it, and given us a free hand, and notwithstanding it is greatly needed, the precious white metal has lain dormant in great measure from the dawn of creation. Our Law-makers of the past have permitted themselves to be cajoled and deceived, and fixed it so that it must remain, securely vaulted and safed and time-locked in the strata of the Earth (they all the time holding the key and the combination), and there it will remain until we have Statesmen at the helm who have the vision and the courage to release it.

Now the idea is to enlarge and broaden out the underpinning so as to be able to carry the structure, and provide means whereby the future supply will automatically keep pace with the increasing population. With their Treasuries depleted, and all the Nations needing it, and their numbers growing, there is no possible danger of an oversupply. The young married people can use it in silverware. While doing it, let us build broadly, and loosen up, and give the people their inning.

SUMMARY BY SHIFTING THE COINAGE RATE OF SILVER.

| | Gain to The Government Treasuries. | Making total Gold and Silver per capita. (Now \$6.06). |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| If recoined at \$3.00, | \$3,015,904,000.00 ----- | 7.77 |
| 3.50, | 3,597,737,500.00 ----- | 8.28 |
| 4.00, | 4,779,593,000.00 ----- | 8.78 |
| 4.66, | 5,943,621,140.00 ----- | 9.47 |

The Washington Arms Conference brought forth a Treaty. Never again will the submarine menace the Seas as a Public Highway. Tally one.

Would not the initial acceptance of the foregoing measures by the United States pave the way for the accomplishment of the other great objectives? It seems to be the consensus of opinion that there should be a Council at Washington on Reparations, the World's Court, Financial Rehabilitation, Partial Disarmament, and World Peace.

RATHER LET SUCH BE A CONGRESS OF THE NATIONS, AS OUR INVITED GUESTS, AND CAN NOT SUCH CONGRESS THEN AND THERE LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAWS THAT WILL PRIMARILY OUTLAW WARS, AND FIX PENALTIES BY IMPOSING RESTRICTIONS UPON COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH OFFENDING NATIONS? AND, FURTHERMORE, ADOPT BIMETALLISM, WITH A HIGHER COINAGE RATE FOR SILVER, AND CREATE CONDITIONS WHEREBY THE NATIONS MAY HAVE A SUFFICIENTLY LARGE METALLIC BASE ON WHICH TO BUILD NEW BANKING SYSTEMS SIMILAR TO OUR OWN? CAN NOT SUCH CONGRESS BE MADE OF PERMANENT CHARACTER, LOOKING TO THE PERFECTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW?

It would be ideal if the affairs of the World could thus be made to rest upon the Eternal Principles of Justice and Right, rather than upon the Alliances and Ententes, as has been the tendency heretofore.

As to securing payment of Reparations, can not a special tax be levied against the Offenders on both exports and imports, collectible at the ports of entry and of shipment, foreign to Germany, the revenues held and applied to the redemption of her bonds? Thus she would pay or be excluded from the World's Trade; and all the Nations would take notice of the penalty and its enforcement.

The benefits of the improved double-standard would be almost boundless. Mining and milling would respond: the powder would be diverted to

beneficial purposes: increased demand for machinery and supplies: create a demand for the products of the irrigated regions, and for goods and merchandise generally: Industrial and commercial expansion: the eight hour day: the building of homes on a vaster scale: the activities this time for peace and the comforts of life, rather than for war. Hope would replace despair: Good will hatred. Tell me not that the United States would not share along with others in the general prosperity of the World.

Such Nations in building anew might issue three classes of bonds.

A. Bonds with full legal tender qualities, and preferred rights against revenues, which, together with their gold and silver holdings, shall be in sufficient amount only, and available for backing up their Federal Reserve Bank Notes (Their new money).

B. To the United States.

C. Other bonds, limited to safety.

Can not the Dollar, with its decimal feature, be accepted as the Unit of Value and Exchange?

With the Monarchies overthrown, and the controversies adjusted, it should be the aim, so far as possible, to let by-gones be by-gones, and start anew, returning to right living, the Keeping of Covenants between Men and Nations, and heeding the laws of God and Man.

THE UNITED STATES,
"THE ROYAL THIRTEENTH."

Mr. President:

We have only to search the Holy Writ to find that Britain and the United States have their place in Prophecy. Abraham, having met the Supreme Test, and offered up typically his beloved son Isaac, God promised him a multitudinous posterity: that He would call them by His Spirit, (even, as the lapse of time has shown, in considerable measure, the prevailing call,) to the end of their generations, and this was their birth-right, that He would especially bless them, and that they should be His people, and He would be their God.

Evidently Britain is the Counterpart in the "Latter Day's" of Ephraim, and the United States, with her number THIRTEEN, the Counterpart of Manasseh, whose Tribe for 200 years was THE THIRTEENTH TRIBE OF ISRAEL:

Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph (the firstborn of Jacob and his beloved Rachael,) upon whom, and their posterity, extending to the "Latter Days", the Birth-right descended by the blessing of Jacob.

1 Chr. 5:1. "His" (Jacob's) "Birth-right was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel."

2. "For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the Chief Ruler" (David, who held the Scepter,) "but the Birth-right was Joseph's."

"And Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me, -- and said, I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and make of thee a company of peoples. - - And Joseph brought them" (Ephraim and Manasseh) "near unto him, and he kissed them, and embraced them, - - and he blessed Joseph. - - And he said "The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God who hath fed me all my life, - @ the Angel who hath redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads: and let my name be named on them."

(The Union Jack is derived from Jacob: Jac, Jac - ob.) "And the name of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac" (Saxons is derived from Isaac's sons: "Sac's sons", "Sac sons", Saxons. Therefore we Anglo-Saxons are descendants of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachael, Joseph and his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh.) "And let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the Earth." Of Ephraim (Britain) he said, "His seed shall become a multitude of Nations". Of Manasseh (the United States) "He also shall become a People, and he also shall be Great."

Manasseh was the Thirteenth Tribe until they numbered 32,200 men of war. Then the Tribe of Levi was set aside for the Priesthood, and Moses, a Levite, the Law-giver and Deliverer, became The Royal Thirteenth: The Royal Servant.

AND, LO, THERE WERE TWELVE APOSTLES, AND YET ANOTHER, THE SON OF GOD AND SAVIOUR OF MEN, THE ROYAL THIRTEENTH.

Both, "EIGHT" and "THIRTEEN" are CHRIST'S numbers.

The "EIGHTH DAY", the "RESURRECTION DAY", seven plus one, "FULL MEASURE, PRESSED DOWN AND RUNNING OVER": and the other, likewise THE

SUPERABUNDANT NUMBER, TWELVE PLUS ONE.

Paul, commissioned to preach the Gospel unto the Gentiles that there might be taken out of them a People for His (Christ's) name (the Gentiles having absorbed the Ten Lost Tribes, which included Ephraim and Manasseh, Ephraim being the Shepherd of the Ten Tribes), was the Thirteenth Apostle, The Royal Thirteenth.

The Christian Host, who accept the spiritual call while He is yet the "Invisible King", shall become members of the Bride of Christ, and reign with Him in glory: hence of The Royal Family, The Royal Thirteenth, and, inferentially, the Other Branch, "The Keepers of the Law", the Guests at The Royal Feast.

Moreover, our Government, founded in righteous ^{mind} under God, was composed of Thirteen States. Our Emblem, Thirteen Bars: the White denotes purity, the Red, redeemed in blood: our Motto, Thirteen Letters. The spread-Eagle (an emblem of Israel): over his head Thirteen Stars: in one talon, Thirteen Leaves of an Olive Branch (an emblem of Israel; Peace, good will): the other, Thirteen Arrows (the Bow and the Arrow, emblems of victory of Israel): Annuit Coeptis" ("He hath prospered our undertakings"); Thirteen Letters: Ours is the Christian Era: our coins "In God we Trust": "Thanksgiving", Counterpart of the Feast of Pentecost: Christmas, in commemoration of Christ's Birth: Good Friday, of His Sacrifice: Easter and Sunday, our Sabbath, of His Resurrection. One husband, one wife, God's highest law of Marriage.

"Long may our Land be bright
With Freedom's holy light
Protect us by Thy Might
Great God, our King."

Can we not see that all this portends that the Hand of God is in it? That even as Moses and Paul were called, so is the United States, as Children of Abraham and of the Promise, Elected, Called to render special service to our fellowmen? And to herald the Glad Tidings of Salvation through Christ unto the penitent sons and daughters of men of all Nations and Peoples throughout the Earth? And are we not responding to the call? Wherein we have been remiss, let us make amends, to the glory of God. Amen.

It is an interesting coincidence that the name of Woodrow Wilson, our honored President in the time of War and Victory, has Thirteen Letters: General John J. Pershing, Thirteen Letters: Herbert Hoover, who superintended the feeding and aid of those in distress, Thirteen Letters. "Salvation Army", Thirteen Letters. "Red Cross", Eight Letters.

Gold and Silver are typical of the Bridegroom and the Bride. Therefore, are not the Two Royal Metals also of The Royal Thirteenth?

(See Supreme Court Decision, The Holy Trinity Church vs. The United States, reported in Vol. 143, at page 457, U. S. Reports.)

I am, Mr. President,

Your obedient servant,

John Doe.

FILING DEPT.
FEB 20 1923
619
SECRETARIES

February 19, 1923

Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge,
Riverdale, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Dodge:

When I wrote you last year expressing the hope that the work of the Federal Council as it had been developing was allaying your former misgivings regarding it and commending it to your confidence, you wrote very kindly in reply, stating that you did feel differently toward it, and would be glad to have me write you this year with regard to its needs.

You will be glad to know that we were able to close the last year on December 31st without any deficit, the first time the Council has succeeded in doing this for some years. The largest individual gift during the year was \$25,000. from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. A number of the denominations have now recognized their obligations and the Presbyterian Church has asserted, in the list which it is asking the Churches to give next year, the sum of \$30,000. for the Council. The total budget was \$260,000., after we had out out a good many things that really ought to be done.

If you would like to have any detailed statement of the work of the Council or an outline of its budget, I should be very glad to send one, but I think you know quite well what we are about, and I earnestly hope that you will find it possible to help this year.

Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge,...2

2/19/23

With warm regard,

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

FILING DEPT.

JUL 10 1923

607
SECRETARIES

July 5, 1923.

Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge,
Riverdale, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Dodge:

Last year in reply to one of my letters with regard to the Federal Council, asking whether we were not succeeding in justifying the work of the Council to your judgment, you wrote a very kind letter in which you said that your feeling with regard to the Council had altered and that I might write you this year in regard to the possibility of your helping us in our budget. The total budget is approximately \$250,000. We are hoping in time to get this amount provided by the denominations. Some of them have already put generous amounts in the programs which they suggest in their churches; the Baptists and the Presbyterians have sums in the neighborhood of \$25,000. It will be a long while however before the local churches act on these recommendations and provide the full amount indorsed by the denominations. Our largest individual contribution is \$20,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

We have kept just about even thus far this year in receipts and expenditures, but the summer is a slack time for receipts though expenditures go on as usual. We shall have to make special effort to tide the work over until we can hope for further church contributions in the fall.

In the directly religious field the best work of the Council is through its Commission on Evangelism, which is a central clearing house and co-ordinating committee for evangelistic activities of all the denominations. Thanks to this united work done quietly and steadily the accessions to our churches of our various denominations have been greater the last two years than ever before in our history. In the more general field of service the best work of the Council has been in supporting the ideals of peace embodied in the League of Nations and the World Court and Disarmament and in promoting better racial relationships. The work is getting on under the Commission on Racial Relationships, headed by Mr. Egan of Atlanta, and with Dr. Alexander, a white man, and Dr. Haynes, colored as Secretary, is one of the best pieces of Christian and patriotic service that is being done in America.

We shall be glad of course to supply any information that you may wish and I trust that you may feel disposed to help with your customary liberality in the kind of work which you approve.

You will be sorry to hear that Stanley White is being

ordered by his physician to lay off all work for the next two months. He has not been sleeping well and I think has been nervously overstrained. I trust that you are feeling much better and that you may have a very good summer.

With sincere regards,

Very faithfully yours,

RECEIVED
CLEVELAND H. DODGE

NEW YORK
JUL 13 1923

Mr. Speer

Cleveland H. Dodge

96

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JUL 20 1923

609
SECRETARIES

99 JOHN STREET

July 13, 1923.

Mr. Robert E. Speer.

156 Fifth Ave., City.

My dear Mr. Speer:

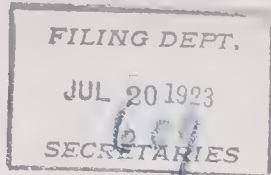
[I have been out of town for a few days, which accounts for my delay in replying to your good letter of July fifth.

I note all you say regarding the work of the Federal Council and wish that I were in position to help you more liberally. I formerly gave \$250 a year to the work of the Council, but the last two years have only given \$100, and now am very glad to go back to the former amount, and enclose you check of \$250.]

I regret very much to hear about Stanley White's illness, and sincerely hope that a good rest this summer will put him on his feet again. If you are to see him, would you kindly give him my warm regards? With best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Cleveland Woody



July 16, 1923.

Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge,
99 John Street, New York.

My dear Mr. Dodge:-

I thank you heartily for your kind note of July 13th with its enclosed renewal of your former contribution to the Federal Council. Like all other religious and missionary agencies, it is having a pretty hard road to hoe these days and every such gift is a great encouragement and help.

We are having a hard time in our Board too, with cumulative deficits and with threats of withdrawals of contributions made by the opposite theological extremes, - One side charging that the church is reactionary and the other side that it is radical, and both *proposing* on these contradictory grounds to withdraw support from the Foreign Mission cause, which is, as far as I can see, the truest and purest cause we have, carried on by the best and most trustworthy people.

Stanley White has gone off to his little place in Prout's Neck, Maine. for the summer and has promised to be thoroughly obedient to the doctors.

With sincere regard, I am,

Very faithfully, yours,

RES-AS.

Wm & Duffell

609

Ralston Purina Company

PROPRIETORS: Purina Mills.

INC.

St. Louis, Mo.

EIGHTH AND:
GRATIOT STREETS

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
DATE AND FILE NO

June 29, 1923.

710

Mr. Robert A. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

Have returned from three months in Egypt, the Holy Land, Syria, Turkey and Greece. It was a great privilege to meet many of our missionaries over there and especially to learn at first hands, as well as see with our own eyes, something of the refugee problems. I can now appreciate more than ever the vigor of your message to us at the time of our Church Federation dinner here in St. Louis.

I have before me your letter of June 4th. [With so many exceptional demands, I do not feel like adding any additional obligations. Besides, in a recent meeting of the trustees of the International Sunday School Council of Religious Education, now headed by Dr. H. B. Magill, I heard quite a discussion about the action of the Federal Council toward the Sunday School problem, which surprised me very much. I read the report of your meeting and I did not feel that such a plan as the Federal Council proposed was the correct plan, so far as religious education is concerned.

I merely mention this in passing because I know all differences will be ironed out and the right methods must triumph in the long run. We believe that our Sunday School plans cover the case better than the Federal Council plans.]

Very truly yours,

Wm. Duffell



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JUL 14 1923

SECRETARIES

Dictated 7/10/23

July 11, 1923

Mr. William U. Danforth,
c/o Ralston Purina Co.,
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mr. Danforth:

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of June 29th and to hear of your safe return from your trip in the Near East. I can imagine what happy and yet also what painful memories it must have left with you.

Thank you very much for your frank reference to the relation of the Federal Council and the International Sunday School Council of Religious Education. I could not conceive what the difficulty might be to which your letter referred and I took the matter up at once with Mr. Gavert, one of the Secretaries of the Federal Council, who has given me the following memorandum:

"I suppose what Mr. Danforth had in mind was, not so much the relation of the Federal Council to the International Sunday School Council of Religious Education as the relation of the local Federations to the local Sunday School associations.

"So far as the Federal Council itself is concerned, I had supposed that our relations with the Sunday School Council were satisfactory. Certainly our personal relations with Dr. Magill have been most pleasant. He seemed to appreciate very much the action of our Administrative Committee in recognizing the International Sunday School Council as the accredited interdenominational agency in the Sunday School field. He attended our Forest Hills Conference and presided at more than half of the sessions.

"I should add, however, that there has been a real divergence of opinion between the people in the International Sunday School Council and some of the leaders in the denominational Sunday School Boards concerning the relation of the Sunday School to the various other religious education movements, such as the week-day school, the YMCA, the YWCA, Boy Scouts etc., and it is quite possible that something of this sort was in Mr. Danforth's mind.

"I have on my desk this morning, however, a most cordial letter from Dr. Magill, in which he expressed his full readiness to cooperate in the simple

7/10/23

'council on correlation,' which our Forest Hills Conference unanimously decided to create as a means of bringing together, in systematic conference, the people who are responsible for planning the various curricula of religious education for the Sunday School, missionary education, YMCA, YWCA etc. For awhile Dr. Magill was rather fearful, I imagine, that this attempt at correlation which we were making, was intended as a sort of competition with the International Sunday School Council, but I hope that we have dispelled this impression and made it clear that its real purpose is to relate the Sunday School agencies with the various other agencies of religious education, which some of the Sunday School people have been inclined to ignore, but which have vital contributions to make to any complete program for the local community.

"With reference to the relation of the local Federations to the local Sunday School associations, Mr. Fred B. Smith, Dr. Guild and I have had several conferences with Dr. Magill. The nub of the problem is that the Sunday School Council has felt that the local Federation of Churches ought not to do anything whatever in the field of religious education, but leave the whole task to the Sunday School association. In general, the position taken by the local Federations has been that the Federation should recognize the Sunday School association as the accredited agency for dealing with the Sunday School field, but that some more comprehensive council would be necessary for relating the Sunday School to various other phases of religious education which are ordinarily outside the scope of the Sunday School association's work.

"In addition to this, there has been a question as to how the local Sunday School association should be related to the Federation of Churches. The local federations have urged that the 50 per cent of the personnel of the Sunday School association, which, according to the new arrangement would be named by the churches, should be appointed by the Federation of Churches in order thus to secure a real intergration of the whole cooperative movement. The Sunday School associations, however, have generally taken the ground that they should be separately and independently appointed and without any organic relation to the Federation of Churches.

"I think it might be well if you would inquire further of Mr. Danforth about the reported attitude of the Federal Council toward the Sunday School Council."

In the light of this statement, could you tell me a little further just what the difficulties were which emerged in the meeting of the Trustees of the International Sunday School Council? Are these difficulties in the National field between the Federal Council and the International Sunday School Council, or do they emerge in the local situation between the city federations, which as you know are entirely independent and autonomous organizations, and the city organizations of the Sunday School Council?

There is too much to do in the world today to have overlapping and competition and waste of energy among the Christian forces. We must take up frankly and trustfully any problems that may arise and find the right solution of them.

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

FILING DEPT.
JAN 4 1923
60
SECRETARIES

January 2, 1923

Rev. Lyman E. Davis, D.D., L.L.D.,
"The Methodist Recorder,"
613 West Diamond, North Side,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Dr. Davis:

Your very kind note of December 30th is just received and I shall look forward with pleasure to seeing the account in the "Methodist Recorder" of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council.

It is always a pleasure to be with you and I wish every one were thinking of and working for the great common interest of the Churches as you are doing.

With kind regards and best wishes for the New Year,

Very faithfully yours,

RES-KC.

Mr. Speer - I found this among the letters in the
filing basket, but I presume you meant to return it to
Mr. Cavert as O.k. If this is so will you kindly drop
it down the mailing chute.

FILING DEPT.

JAN 30 1923

SECRETARIES

This is cleared by telephone

R42

S. Mc.L. Cavert

FILING DEPT.

JAN 30 1923

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SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

MEMORANDUM

From Mr. Cavert

Date
Jan. 25, 1923.

To Dr. Speer ✓
Dr. Macfarland

Subject:

I attach herewith copy of a letter which I have drafted for Mr. Glenn to send to the editor of the Living Church. I should be glad if you would glance over it, and if you have any comment to make suggest them to Mr. Glenn and myself within the next day or two.

I also wrote Bishop Brent asking him if he wouldn't be willing to write whatever is in his mind.

January 25, 1923.

FILING DEPT.

JAN 30 1923

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SECRETARIES

Editor, The Living Church,
Milwaukee, Wis.

Sir:

The editorial in your issue of January 13, entitled "The Federal Council of the Churches," seems to me to involve so many misconceptions of the Federal Council and to be so inconclusive in many of its arguments that I respectfully request the opportunity of presenting through your columns a dissenting point of view.

I appreciate your expressions of desire for cordial relations with the Federal Council and your frank statement of the importance of its work. Such an attitude, however, seems to me to call for more than the grudging recognition which the Episcopal Church now gives.

Concerning each of the concrete reasons which you adduce for refraining from membership in the Council, will you permit me a word of comment?

1. You say that "when measures relating to social advance are proposed it is desirable that all the agencies which may be counted on to support such measures should be brought together in united action" and that "federation with one section of the higher moral influence would be only an embarrassment to complete unity of action." Certainly it is "desirable" that there should be the largest possible unity of action, but are we to reach the astonishing conclusion that because there is no practicable way of maintaining sustained cooperation with all the forces we are not to maintain cooperation with those with whom it is wholly practicable? The plain fact is that in the Federal Council we have an agency which is made up of the representatives of nearly 20,000,000 evangelical church members who desire our full cooperation. Shall we decline their invitation because others do not give us a similar invitation?

And in what way would federation with the evangelical bodies now in the Council be "an embarrassment to complete unity of action?" How could it prevent us from having such friendly relations as are possible, for example, with the Roman Catholics? You seem to forget that as a matter of actual fact it is this very Federal Council

which more than any other agency of the Protestant churches, and more than any single Protestant church, including the Episcopal - has established practical and helpful, even if informal, working relationships with the Roman Catholics on social questions. The simultaneous appeal in behalf of the Conference on Reduction of Armaments and the joint report on the coal controversy by the Federal Council and the National Catholic Welfare Council are significant illustrations. At the present moment the two bodies (and also the Jews) are beginning together a study of the seven-day week in industry. Where else are there similar examples today of such cooperation among all the great religious forces of our country?

Into the question of federating "all the bodies, religious and secular," I need not enter at any length. Surely you believe that there is a special contribution which the churches, as churches, just because of their religion, have to make to our social problems, and which ~~of course, they should~~ should lead them to stand as a moral unit. Of course, they should join with all good agencies of a "secular" character in a great many efforts, but here again let me point out that when we have some sort of central organization among the churches it is far easier for the social agencies to work with them. The Red Cross or the National Child Labor Committee simply cannot hope to deal effectively or easily with thirty separate churches. Through the Federal Council they can touch, and do touch, representatives of these churches all at once. You will recall that during the war the Government refused to deal, in the matter of Chaplains for the Army and Navy, with the various commissions separately; in order to carry on our program for the Chaplains we were required to do it through the Federal Council. What was true then of the Government is in large measure true of other great ^{national} ~~material~~ agencies today.

2. That the Church should insist on "retaining always the right to formulate its own policy" on social questions, every one will agree. The real question, however, is: "Are there great questions on which the Churches, as they formulate their own policies, discover that they have a common mind?" If so, they weaken immeasurably

their own influence if they do not make that common mind as clear as possible to the world, as Bishop Nicolai, of Serbia, said, when he was urging the churches of America to cooperate more fully for the sake of the world; "The voice of many churches is not the voice of the Church at all." The Federal Council has no power, in any of its utterances, to bind any of the constituent churches - this is explicitly stated in its constitution. But when the official representatives of the churches comprising the council come to one mind sufficiently to express a common judgment, it has a moral value that none of their separate utterances can have."

3. Your statement that the Episcopal Church would "be bound to pay" beyond what our church would itself approve quite misconceives the basis of support of the Federal Council. Each constituent communion itself decides - and alone decides - what share of the financial responsibility it will bear. The budget is made up each year by the Executive Committee of the Council, composed exclusively of the official representatives of the participating churches. No assessment is made on the churches. They simply make voluntary contributions. What is not provided in this way the Council secures from individual supporters. The Episcopal Church is already contributing \$2500; whether it would contribute a larger amount if it entered into full membership would be for the Episcopal Church itself to decide. Under these conditions, which leave the decision wholly to our own church, it is hardly less than ridiculous to speak of a "breach of trust" with our parishes and "diversion of funds." Any expenditure of funds to the Federal Council would be decided upon in exactly the same way and by the same authority as our expenditures for foreign missions or religious education. This is now the case with the Presbyterian, Baptist and the other churches in the Council and would be likewise true of us.

4. Your statement that federation has not "proven to be a step toward the unity of the bodies federated" would certainly not be admitted for a moment by the most thoughtful members of those bodies. That there is a very different attitude on the part of those churches toward one another than there was twenty years ago, before the federa-

tion movement began, is the deep conviction of most of their leaders. The churches, through their constant meeting in the Federal Council and other cooperative agencies have come to know each other as they did not know each other before, to understand and appreciate each other as they did not before. The old sectarian spirit is beginning to lose its hold, as they are coming to see how much they have in common. A new spirit is being created - the very spirit without which all plans for union are futile. Federation, as you rightly say, is not a substitute for unity but it certainly seems to be an important step in that direction. Indeed, there would ~~be~~ probably be much less interest in the World Conference on Faith and Order today among the churches outside of our own fold, if it were not for the influence of the Federal Council in bringing them to a better understanding of one another during all these years. And as for our own Church, how can we reasonably hope that the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and others will have very much enthusiasm for the Conference on Faith and Order, which we are promoting, if we do not appreciate the things we have in common with them enough to cooperate with them through the Federal Council in present tasks?

5. Your emphasis upon "the narrowness whereby the Federal Council chooses some (churches) and rejects others" is based upon a misapprehension of the attitude of the Council. It does exclude, it is true, by the terms of its constitution, those that do not believe in Jesus Christ "as Divine Lord and Savior". With that position you of course, agree. It does not definitely exclude any church which acknowledges Jesus Christ as Divine Lord and Savior. The Orthodox Eastern Church and the Roman Catholic Church are not members, but there is nothing in the official constitution of the Council to forbid it, if the time comes when they really desire membership. There is already unmistakable evidence of a new interest in and appreciation of the Russian and the Greek Churches. Not only is there no "hostility" (to quote your word) but there is positive assistance of a remarkable kind. In all the recent history of Christianity in America there is no finer thing than the action of the Federal Council in sending a special representative to Russia to carry relief and a message of sympathy to the clergy of the Russian Church. With Patriarch Meletios the warmest kind of friendly sympathy

now prevails. Cabelgrams of appreciation from him for the help of the Council have been received on several occasions. Let me remind you also of the recent cablegram of the Executive Committee of the Council to the Lausanne Conference protesting against the expulsion of the Patriarch, - a protest which the New York Times' special correspondent at Lausanne reported in the columns of the Times as having had profound effect, coming as it did from the great body of American Christians not in communion with the Eastern Church.

As for relations with the Roman Church one need only say that the Conference on Faith and Order has itself not been able to establish cooperation with Rome. Do you for that reason decline to join in the Conference? Of course not, ~~Why~~ then decline to join in the Federal Council for the same reason?

Your reference to the Council's "indulgence toward certain sects within its own membership that do not corporately teach the deity of our Lord" I cannot understand at all. After considerable contact with all these communions I know of none of which your statement is true.

May I also call your attention, incidentally, to the fact that you seem to place Bishop Brent in a false light, when you refer to the report to the General Convention for the Committee of which he was chairman. While it is true that the report of the Committee was unanimous, you neglect to state that Bishop Brent himself said, when submitting the report to the House of Bishops, that he did not personally approve the recommendation and that it presented only the step on which the committee would unanimously agree. He then himself urged the House of Bishops to adopt as an alternative a proposal to enter into full membership in the Council,

Respectfully yours,

S. M. Cavert.

FILING DEPT.

JAN 26 1923

609
SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

MEMORANDUM

From Mr. Cavert

Date
Jan. 24, 1923.

To Dr. Speer

Subject:

Thank you for letting me see the letter from Dr. Zelig and memorandum from Dr. Montgomery, both of which I have read with very great interest.

S. McC. Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

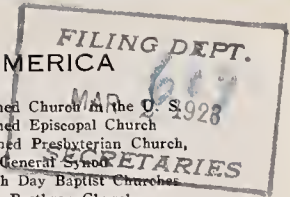
(INCORPORATED)

Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of Chris-
tian Social Service
Reformed Church in America

Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church,
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)



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OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
—
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

Jan. 23, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

I am afraid that I shall have to refer the enclosed letter
directly to you.

Cordially yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert

General Secretary.

C-W

Signed in Mr. Cavert's absence.

FILING DEPT.
JAN 26 1923
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SECRETARIES

January 23rd, 1923

Dear Mr. Cavert,

I enclose a copy of a letter Mr. Speer has written to Miss Berneice Petersen which will be self-explanatory. Will you kindly see that this material is sent to Miss Petersen. She needs it for an interscholastic debate on the question "Resolved, that the policy of the United States in the Near East question should be absolute neutrality."

Sincerely yours,

C.

FILING DEPT.

JAN 26 1923

607
SECRETARIES

January 22nd, 1923

Miss Berneice Petersen,
3308 East 35th Street,
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Miss Petersen,

I am asking the Near East Relief and the Federal Council of the Churches if they will be good enough to send you material for your debate on the Near East question, and the duty of the United States. I am asking them to send you with the other material a copy of the King-Crane Report on this whole subject.

Very faithfully yours,

RES:C.

S. M. Cavert

FILING DEPT.

FEB 21 1923

609
SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

MEMORANDUM

From Mr. Cavert

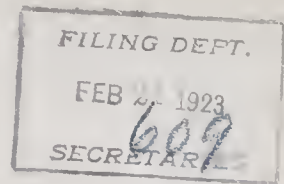
To Dr. Speer ✓
Dr. Moore
Dr. Macfarland

Subject:

Date

Feb. 16, 1923.

Shall I send the attached letter to Dr. Merrill. I am awaiting your advice before doing so.



Feb. 15, 1923.

Rev. William P. Merrill,
112 E. 58th Street,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Merrill:

In a personal letter from Dr. William Adams Brown, he refers to a letter which you wrote to him under date of Dec. 26th, and from which he quotes:

"As for cooperation between the World Alliance and the Federal Council's Commission, we have offered all the suggestions we could think of:

1. That the Federal Council's Commission be largely a paper body, and the World Alliance be recognized as representing the Council in the International field, just as the Foreign Missions Conference and the Home Missions Council do in their respective spheres.
2. That the Federal Council's Commission take over the work in America, and become practically the body representing the World Alliance in this country, the World Alliance functioning abroad.
3. That we delimit spheres of activity. All these have been rejected as impracticable."

I am a bit puzzled to know whether I have misunderstood the matter or whether the misunderstanding was on your part. Certainly there seems to be a misunderstanding somewhere. I had never understood that the World Alliance or even any officers of the World Alliance had proposed that the Federal Council's Commission take over the work in America, and become practically the body representing the World Alliance in this country, the World Alliance functioning abroad. Perhaps such a proposal has been made without my knowing about it, but certainly it could not have been "rejected as impracticable" without my knowing something about it.

I am interested in this question because this practical solution is just the one which has commended itself to me personally, and which, as you may recall, I had suggested when Dr. Moore and I had a conference with you at your office a month or so ago. Perhaps you would prefer to talk personally about the matter, in which case I should be very glad to drop in at your convenience.

Cordially yours,

General Secretary.

FILING DEPT.

FEB 19 1923

SECRETARIES

Dictated 2/17/23

February 19, 1923

Rev. S. M. Cavert,
105 East 22nd St.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cavert:

I am afraid I shall not be in town on Tuesday. If I am away, as I probably shall be, of course I cannot get to the meeting you are planning at 4:30. The problem of the protest against the French occupation of the Ruhr seems to me to be very far from a simple problem. That is a concrete affair which is part of the whole general situation. I can see how we can state our convictions as to the spirit and principles which should govern the general situation. It is a very different matter to pick out one concrete element of the problem and deal with that by itself. Personally, I do not feel ready to denounce the occupation of the Ruhr without a great deal more knowledge than I have, and without judging at the same time the causes which led up to it, which I have no competence to do.

I think we ^{should} shall take up Dr. Baltzer's letter which you sent me at the next meeting of the Secretarial Council. I judge that you have given Dr. Macfarland a copy of it. I should think it would be well for you to send a copy also to Dr. Moore and get Bishop Brent's and Dr. North's counsel.

I should think it would be very well for you to talk with Dr. Merrill again, and if you think it wise, I should be very glad to join you in any such conference. I still feel a little hesitation as to our calling a more general conference to discuss the relations of the World Alliance and the Federal Council. I had quite a talk with Dr. Atkinson. We went out to Columbus together.

Perhaps the best thing for you to do now would be for you to go and have a good talk with Dr. Merrill on the basis of Dr. Brown's letter.

In your letter to Dr. Merrill you pick out the second of his three suggestions and the implication is that that is entirely acceptable to you, and I judge that it would be acceptable to Dr. Merrill only if you were ready to accept his first suggestion also.

Rev. S. M. Cavert.....2

2/17/23

I think it would be well in your talk with Dr. Merrill to go a little more fully into the third suggestion as to delimiting spheres of activity. This was the very thing that Dr. Merrill and I tried to work out, and I should suppose there was as much readiness on the part of the Federal Council as that of the World Alliance to work out any really just and wise allotment of service.

With warm regard,

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

Samuel Mc C. Caver
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Baptist Churches, North
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of Chris-
tian Social Service
Reformed Church in America

Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church,
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

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REV. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT,
GENERAL SECRETARIES
ALFRED R. KIMBALL, TREASURER

February 16, 1923.

Dear Dr. Speer:

My personal feeling that there ought to be some protest in the name of the Church against the occupation of the Ruhr is leading me to ask your counsel and that of just a few others concerning the wisdom of a "round-robin" letter which might be signed by a group of ministers and laymen, and perhaps receive some publicity.

I presume that it is hardly possible for any church organization to make a statement in its corporate capacity about the matter. What I am suggesting, therefore, is in no way what-ever connected with the Federal Council. Any statement which might be made would have no official endorsement but would have to stand upon its own merit.

Could you meet for a short time at the office of the Federal Council at 4.30 next Tuesday to consider with a few others the wisdom of an utterance of this kind?

I have put in the enclosed statement my own thought upon the matter, not as a final draft in any way but simply for the purpose of indicating what might be the general tenor of the letter. The little meeting on Tuesday would be for the purpose of deciding whether a statement should be issued and, if so, what it should be.

Always cordially yours,

Samuel M. Caver

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Probably you are too busy to come. If so, I'd appreciate a word as to your judgment

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FEB 20 1919

SECRETARIES

AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

The undersigned, ministers and laymen in the Christian Church, cannot allow the occupation of the Ruhr to continue without a moral protest.

The intensification of bitterness produced by the effort to collect reparations by the use of military power is making incalculably more difficult the problem of bringing about any real reconciliation or permanent peace. If the situation should go from bad to worse and result in the separation of German territory from the German Republic, it would be a moral failure on the part of the Allies to live up to the conditions of the Armistice, which they themselves proposed, and would sow dragons' teeth of ill-will and revenge for future generations. Having supported the World War for the purpose of permanent peace, we cannot now silently acquiesce in measures which will perpetuate hatred and breed future wars.

In making this declaration we are not passing judgment upon any nation of Europe so much as we are directing attention to our own. Our failure to accept our full share of responsibility in bringing about an ordered international life has seemed to the French to leave them no alternative except to resort to arms to ensure economic and political security. Obviously, we cannot expect France, which has borne more than all others the burden of the war, to agree to any radical reduction of reparations from Germany, unless we are ourselves ready to make concession similar to those that we desire of her.

We urge our Government to make it known that if the French will promptly withdraw their forces from the Ruhr, our nation will definitely join with the other nations in reaching a just agreement as to what Germany can reasonably be required to pay and in carrying out a common plan for the economic reconstruction of Europe and the maintenance of peace.

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JAN 26 1923

609
SECRETARIES

January 19th, 1923

The Rev. S. M. Cavert,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cavert,

I had hoped to be able to get to the Recruiting Meeting on Monday the 22nd, but shall have to leave New York at 6:00 that afternoon in order to get to Columbus in time for the meeting of the State Federation there.

With regard to Mr. Morehouse's editorial in the "Living Church" I should think the best thing would be to get some strong Episcopalian to answer him, like Mr. Glenn or Mr. Gardiner or Dr. Bowie of Bishop Brent. I should think that would be better than to have some one of us from outside.

I am very glad that Dr. Bowie is coming to New York. That ought to help us very much in these cooperative movements, and if we are to have a minister as Chairman of the Commission on Social Service, and Dr. North is not available, I think that Dr. Bowie would be a very good man. I still feel however that we ought to try to get a layman and an employer, if we can possibly do so, as the Chairman of that Commission. If Mr. Verity of Youngstown is the right man ought we not to make every effort to secure him?

I am sorry I shall not be able to get to the meeting of the Committee on the Religious Bodies in Europe on January 24th. I am not sure that I have hold of all the ideas that ought to be embraced on the judgment of such a question as you suggest ^{as} to the relation of the Commission on France and Belgium

Rev. S. M. Cavert, p. 2

to the Commission of the Religious Bodies in Europe. I gather we have several other problems arising from our European relations. It may be well some time soon to talk these all over together. Perhaps the matter may come up in our conference on Monday.

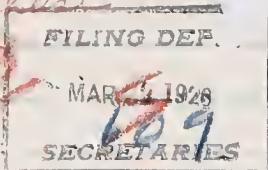
I am glad to hear that there have been such good results already from the little dinner at the Union League.

Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

Dr. Spurr.

C. W. Chase



Dear Dr. Sherr

Please be generous + give

me a photograph of yourself for
our Conference Room. Dr. Macfarland
+ Mrs. Largent both are so eager
to frame you there. We will
gladly pay for such a picture.

Dr. Macfarland threatens
otherwise to frame a football
picture of you at Princeton, for
the Conference Room.

C. W. Chase

RECEIVED

NOV 19 1926 Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

[Incorporated]

105 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK

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W. R. WHEELER

S. PARKES CADMAN, PRESIDENT
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GENERAL SECRETARIES
FRANK L. MANN, TREASURER

Department of
Research and Education

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, CHAIRMAN
F. ERNEST JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

November 18, 1926

Mr. W. Reginald Wheeler
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

We are returning to you your book Modern Missions in Mexico as we already have one in our files. Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in sending us a copy.

*Book rec'd
11/24/26.*

Sincerely yours,

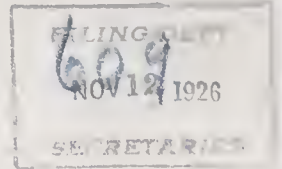
Calla M. Elferdinck

Calla M. Elferdinck *per E.W.*
Librarian

CME.W

W. R. Wheeler

Sidney L. Gulick



Re literature Gulick Co. November 5th, 1926.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick,
Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Gulick:

When we were talking of the situation in Mexico it was suggested that we send from our office available material on conditions there. We are sending to you herewith and under separate cover the following documents:

1. Reprint of article entitled "The Present Situation in Mexico", which appeared in the Presbyterian Magazine, May 1926.
2. Statement sent out from our offices dated August 23rd, entitled "The Present Situation in Mexico."
3. Magazine called "All the world", October 1926 issue, containing a statement on Mexico, largely a reproduction of the multigraphed summary.
4. Report of the delegation of our Board which visited Mexico, called "Modern Missions in Mexico." In Chapters VII, XVI, XVII, and XVIII; we have tried to deal especially with the question now before our Church and Government with reference to Mexico.
5. A bibliography of books on Mexico and Latin America prepared annually by our department for our own missionaries.

We are sending these same documents to Dr. Bullock-Johnson of the Research Department of the Federal Council.

I was much interested in the reception given by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council to the proposed minute on the Mexican situation.

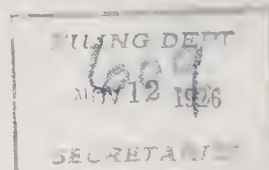
With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Wheeler.

W. Wheeler

F. E. Johnson



Re. literature on Mexico

November 5th, 1926.

Mr. F. E. Johnson,
Department of Research and Education,
Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In accordance with the suggestion made some days ago that we should send on to you any available material on the situation in Mexico, we are forwarding to you herewith some articles and other data which may be of interest to you.

We are sending to you:

1. Reprint of article entitled "The Present Situation in Mexico", which appeared in the Presbyterian Magazine, May 1926.
2. Statement sent out from our offices dated August 23rd, entitled "The Present Situation in Mexico."
3. Magazine called "All the World", October 1926 issue, containing a statement on Mexico, largely a reproduction of the multigraphed summary.
4. Report of the delegation of our Board which visited Mexico, called "Modern Missions in Mexico". In Chapters VII, XVI, XVII, and XVIII, we have tried to deal especially with the question now before our Church and Government with reference to Mexico.
5. A bibliography of books on Mexico and Latin America prepared annually by our department for our own missionaries.

We are sending these same documents to Dr. Gulick.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

W. Reginald Wheeler.

WRW-AS

name article?

THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN MEXICO

Since the beginning of the year reports have come continuously from Mexico to the United States of conflict between the Calles Government and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. Church authorities have declared that a violent religious persecution is being waged by the Government similar in purpose and severity to that of the Roman Empire in the early centuries. High Government officials and President Calles himself have denied these charges. They declare that the Government is not anti-religious and does not isolate the constitutional guarantees of religious liberty, and is not persecuting the church.

The entire question has become a matter of vital interest to all thoughtful Americans. Important principles and deep human interests are involved. Not only is the age-old problem raised of the respective rights and responsibilities of the State and Church, but also the problem as to when and how far one country has the right to intervene in the religious procedures of a neighboring country, and, in the concrete, as to what rights and duties, if any, the United States has in relation to Mexico.

Because of the intrinsic importance of the situation, and the difficulty of seeing the issues clearly, because of the confusion due to imperfect and oftentimes superficial and even distorted news, and because of the perfectly natural tendency of each side in the controversy to state its case in the most favorable light, thus inevitably rendering exceedingly difficult an impartial understanding of the actual situation, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches has requested the Research Department with the cooperation of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, to prepare as complete and objective a statement of the facts as can be compressed into a few pages.

The Historical Background

The politico-religious situation in Mexico is the outgrowth of four centuries of history in that land. From the time of her conquest by Cortez, (A.D.1521) until under the leadership of Hidalgo, a pure blooded Indian priest, she gained political independence

(A.D. 1521) Mexico was under the rule of Spain both politically and ecclesiastically. During those three centuries the Roman Catholic faith was taught in every part of the land, thousands of churches were erected and the people were nominally Christianized. Two interpretations of this history are offered, one highly laudatory, and ^{the} other condemnatory.

The first view is commonly held by Roman Catholics. Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, for instance, in Current History (June 1926) speaks in glowing terms of the religious and humanitarian work of the church. "The Church arrived in Mexico contemporaneously with the representatives of the Spanish Crown, and the record of her effort to guide and shape the activities of the secular power so as to raise to a lofty level of Christian standards the tangled ruin of decadent culture that she found there has been recorded, not only by her own erudite sons from the sixteenth century to the twentieth, but by a number of eminent non-Catholic historians." (p. 489)

As to the relations of Church and State in recent decades he says: "For more than one hundred years the Church has been harassed and on the defensive in Mexico, and for seventy years she has been suffering one degree of proscription after another, culminating in the monstrous provisions of what is called the Constitution of 1917. Under the most savage provocation, she has not fought back, but trusted wholly in the Will of God." (p. 489.)

The other viewpoint is urged by anti-Catholic Mexicans, and those who in general sympathize with the so-called "liberal" movement.

This general viewpoint is also taken by Professor Edward A. Ross in his volume, The Social Revolution in Mexico. "As far back" he says, "as the middle of the last century it became clear to the Mexican liberals that popular government would never have a chance in Mexico so long as the Catholic hierarchy, controlling two-thirds of the productive wealth of the country, dominated economic life and monopolized the great opinion-forming agencies, religion, education, and charity. The issue was between the thirteenth century and the nineteenth, and there was no evading it. The 'little Indian' President, Juarez, in his famous Laws of Reform sought by suppressing the

converts and nationalizing the vast properties of the Mexican church to transform it from a huge secular power into a religious institution pure and simple. The Constitution of 1857, which was to survive until 1917, is acrid with the smoke of this conflict.....When, in 1867, Maximilian fell before the firing-squad on the hillside by Queretaro, it was settled that nineteenth century political ideas were to have their innings in the land of Montezuma."

The war of independence was led by pure blooded Indian priests (Midalgo and Morelos) who were excommunicated and finally murdered. Then began the long struggle in Mexico between so-called liberals and conservatives, in which the Church, the aristocracy and the capitalist were ever in opposition to the "liberal" movement.

For a few years (1856-1860) under the leadership of Benito Juarez the liberals were in the ascendent. The Constitution of 1857 and the Reform Laws of 1859 laid the foundations for the anti-church movement. Church property was taken over by the State; monastic orders were abolished; and priests were forbidden to wear religious vestments and robes in public.

In its efforts to maintain its rights and its ancient place of political power the Mexican Hierarchy appealed for help to Rome and to Napoleon. This brought in Maximilian (1864) and his admittedly infamous rule supported by French bayonets. By the moral intervention of the United States, however, the French forces were withdrawn (1865) and not long after a fresh revolution cast out Maximilian and his supporters (1867).

Under the guise of a Republic General Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910) maintained peace for nearly forty years, but through a policy of developing and modernizing Mexico he gave large privileges of investment and exploitation of natural resources to foreign capital, allowed the Hierarchy to return to its former practices, permitted the reestablishment of monastic orders, fostered the holding of huge landed estates, and in the process deprived millions of peons of their inherited community agricultural properties (ejidos), thus reducing them to serfdom and making them helpless day laborers for the proprietors of enormous estates (haciendas).

These conditions led to the revolutions of 1910-1920, of Madero, Huerta, Obregon and Carranza, in which it is claimed the church has steadily supported reactionaries and big financial interests.

The Constitution of 1917

In order to consolidate and clarify the aims of the revolution General Carranza called a Constitutional Convention of those who believed in the reform movement and after weeks of deliberation promulgated the "Constitution of 1917" which took over large sections of the Constitution of 1857 and the Reform Laws of 1859, adding to them certain far reaching provisions for curtailing the power and privileges of the Hierarchy and certain sections dealing with agrarian, industrial and socio-economic conditions and dealing with the right to exploit subsoil mineral and oil resources of the country, both mineral and oil.

In this report we are concerned only with the so-called religious sections of the Constitution and the efforts at their enforcement.

As summarized by Professor Ross, in the volume already referred to the Constitution of 1917 forbids the church to own real estate or mortgages on real estate, to own church buildings or any other buildings, to possess invested funds or other productive property, to maintain convents or nunneries, to conduct primary schools, to direct or administer charitable institutions, to solicit funds for its support outside of church buildings, to hold religious ceremonies outside of church buildings, to clothe its ministers with a garb indicative of their calling. Ministers of religion are forbidden to criticize publicly the fundamental laws, the authorities or the government. They cannot vote, hold office, assemble for political purposes, inherit real property occupied by a religious association, or inherit property from fellow-clergymen or from private individuals who are not blood relatives. Assemblies of a political character may be held in churches. No political party may indicate by its name a relation to any religious belief. Religious periodicals may not comment on political affairs. Credit cannot be given by a state university for work done in theological seminaries. Official permission must be obtained before opening a new

church to the public. The state legislature may determine the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds. Marriage is exclusively a civil ceremony, although a religious ceremony may follow it.

It must not be supposed that all this is new. The Constitution of 1857 and the laws enacted pursuant thereto decreed the suppression of monasteries and the nationalization of their property, prohibited "taking the veil" by novices, abolished all extra-legal religious holidays, regulated the ringing of church-bells and municipalized cemeteries.

Developments in 1926 7

During the regimes of Carranza and Obregon these severe provisions of the Constitution dealing with the Church were largely ignored. The Government was concerned with the reestablishment of order and peace, with socio-economic, agrarian, and industrial problems and with the exploitation of subsoil resources by foreign capitalists.

Early in 1926, however, a situation developed which Roman Catholics describe as religious persecution, but which the Mexican Government describes as merely enforcement of the laws. Among the unquestioned facts are:

no America The expulsion (beginning in February) of between 200 and 300 foreign priests.

The taking over by the Government of Episcopal residences and other buildings used for religious purposes.

(The closing of several score primary schools conducted by monastic orders and priests).

The closing of several theological seminaries.

The reduction by local authorities in the number of priests permitted to function in eleven states, from 2,335 to 675.

The requirement by the Government that all priests shall be registered in their respective municipalities.

The appointment by municipalities of ten civilian custodians for each temple (church building) to take charge of it in the name of the nation.

The publication of several letters from Pope Pius XI to the Mexican Hierarchy,

denouncing the "anti-religious" sections of the Constitution and the laws and urging priests and laity to be faithful to the Church in spite of persecutions.

The issuing (July 3) by the Government of an edict effective August 1, 1926, defining penalties for infractions of the religious provisions of the Constitution.

The publication of several pastoral letters by the Hierarchy requiring the priests not to register and not to continue their religious ministrations in the churches after the edict became effective.

Letters from the Hierarchy to the Pope assuring him of their fidelity and obedience.

Severe public condemnations of the Government by individual Bishops and threats of excommunication of Government officials by the Hierarchy.

Announcements by the Hierarchy of their defiance to the Government and determination to have the obnoxious sections of the Constitution and the laws abolished.

Severe public condemnations of the Hierarchy by President Calles for their rebellious and seditious attitude, and for stirring up the people to make trouble.

A Roman Catholic petition to the Mexican House of Deputies demanding the repeal of the obnoxious provisions of the laws.

Rejection of the same by the House on the ground that the church leaders were no longer Mexican citizens because of their public announcement of their determination not to obey the Constitution and the Laws.

Appeals to President Coolidge by Roman Catholics in the United States for intervention in Mexico and his refusal.

In order to make the situation clear to citizens of the United States it seems desirable to quote from and summarize from the principal documents issued and statements made by the Pope, the Mexican Hierarchy and the Government, expressing their respective ideas and contentions.

Official Catholic Documents

1. Letter of Pope Pius XI to the Archbishops and Bishops of Mexico (February 2, 1926).

"It is scarcely necessary for us to tell you how wicked are the regulations and laws invoked against the Catholic citizens of Mexico which have been sanctioned by officials hostile to the Church, and which by their enforcement have long oppressed you. You are fully aware that these laws are far from being 'reasonable laws', nor are they useful and necessary for the common good as assuredly all laws should be. On the contrary, they do not seem to merit even the name of laws."

The letter denounces the expulsion from Mexico City of the Apostolic Delegate as an act of injustice and a breach of good faith. It denies the plea of the Mexican Government that such acts are necessary in order to protect the Republic. If the present policy continues, the letter declares, "the common rights of citizenship will be automatically denied Catholics, and the functions and ministry of the Christian religion itself will die."

2. Pastoral Letter of Bishop Zarate of Huejutla (March 10, 1926.)

"I denounce, I condemn, and I abhor each and every crime which the Government of Mexico has during my days perpetrated against the Catholic Church, especially, and above all, its ill-disguised purpose to root up and destroy once and for all time the Catholic Church in Mexico....

"It means nothing to me that a law be fundamental, organic, or what not, of today, yesterday, or tomorrow, if it is a violation of those rights. With regard to those measures, which are a violation of the dignity of man, as are many of those which, in its madness and infernal fury against Catholicism, the government is taking, I denounce them all with indignation -- not as a pastor of the church of Jesus Christ, which I am, although unworthy, but simply as a citizen having intelligence to know and value my rights and dignity as a free man.... The orders of a government, of whatsoever category, do not become laws by the mere fact of their being inserted in the codes, ~~but~~ but by the justice and right upon which they are founded."

The Pastoral Letter charges that the "so-called Mexican constitution of 1917, at least in so far as it refers to religious matters, has never been submitted to the

to the people of Mexico for approval."

(NOTE: The facts and the legal procedure involved should be given here.)

The "seizure and closing of the churches" is denounced as a usurpation of authority. The policy of the Government is referred to as a denial of ecclesiastical authority and of the corporate rights of the church. The bishop declares that he "can not in any manner, not under any concept, comply with the requirements of the Government in a matter of this nature." He considers that the Government is itself violating the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of 1917.

The bishop directly impugns the veracity of President Calles: "In an interview recently published in the press of the United States, the President of the Republic makes the statement that religious persecution in Mexico is due to the fact that the Catholic clergy is mixing in politics in a manner unheard of in the United States. The President of the Republic lies."

Concluding his letter, the bishop calls on his people to go to martyrdom even, if this be necessary, in the cause of Jesus Christ and His Church." (Liberty Lead in Mexico: Speech of Hon. James A. Gullivan. Washington, 1926, pp. 17-21)

Statement by the National Catholic Welfare Conference (April 15, 1926.)

"Our fellow Catholics in Mexico are today suffering a most unjust and far-reaching persecution at the hands of the present Mexican Government. Churches have been confiscated; priests exiled; the people deprived of religious ministrations; the teaching of religion banished from the schools."

"The Constitution of Mexico, in force since 1917, includes in its anti-religious provisions all churches and ministers of every denomination. That those provisions are being carried out almost exclusively against Catholics and the Catholic Church at this time should not blind our fellow-citizens to the fact that they are in themselves absolute denials of those principles upon which we as Americans believe that just government must be founded.

"The present Government of Mexico won its way to power by revolution, and has been strengthened in its hold upon power by recognition by our own Government of the United States. Before such recognition was granted the U.S. Secretary of State,

Mr. Lansing, at the direction of the United States Senate, interrogated the then provisional government of Mexico as to whether or not that government would guarantee and provide religious liberty for its people. The Mexican Government solemnly pledged itself to guarantee religious liberty according to the Constitution of 1857. On that promise our Government granted recognition. No sooner was it won than the Government of Mexico scrapped the Constitution of 1857; declared a pre-constitutional 'period' and by military dictatorship forced, not through popular vote, but through picked convention, the Constitution of 1917. The present Constitution of Mexico was imposed on Mexico by a band of insurgents at a time when Mexico was prostrate and when the rest of the world was at war.

"Despite the fact that in 1920 our Government was again forced to suspend diplomatic relations with Mexico and did not resume them till 1923 the conditions of recognition established in 1917 were still obligatory on Mexico. These conditions, which underlie all negotiations between civilized governments, were postulated, as promises to the agreements which were later on entered into by both governments.

"We are amply justified, and not only justified, but, as is every American, obligated, to call upon our Government that its original request, upon which recognition in Mexico was granted, be lived up to by the Government of Mexico. The United States gave recognition to Mexico on Mexico's specific promise that it would guarantee religious liberty to all its citizens. Mexico has not kept the promise, but, on the contrary, her government has entered upon a definite campaign of force to destroy religious liberty and is intensifying that campaign by striking at the roots of religion - religious education."

"The situation is so critical that we call upon our Catholic people not only to interest themselves as a body, but to hold meetings with their own Catholic brethren that will voice the protest of the public; that will both call upon our own Government to use its good offices to see that justice is restored and that religious and educational liberty are enjoyed by the people of Mexico." (W.F. Montavon, The Facts Concerning the Mexican Problem, N.C.W.C., 1926, pp. 59-60.)

Joint Pastoral Letter signed by eight archbishops and thirty-one bishops of Mexico (April 21, 1926.)

This is an elaborate and detailed statement of their case. It begins by declaring that "the time has come to say: NON POSSIMUS."

The letter urges that "since it is desired to impose on us Mexican Catholics urgently and definitely a Constitution contrary to our most sacred duties of conscience and to our most undeniable rights," Catholics should use "All lawful means" to reform the Constitution" to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people who desire to enjoy full liberty. This is urged not merely as a regular and legal proceeding but as dictated by "a just devotion to mandates superior to human law" and a "just defense of legitimate interests."

(W. F. Montavon, The Facts Concerning the Mexican Problems, N.C.W.C. 1926, p. 57.)

Letter to Hon. Calvin Coolidge from the National Catholic Welfare Conference signed by two Archbishops and five Bishops "representative of the bishops, clergy and laity of the United States" (April 25, 1926).

The purport of this document is clear from the following quotation:
"We have a unique and special relation to Mexico because of the positive steps our Government has taken at different times in history to support or deny support to this or that Government at Mexico. ... We wish to present with every emphasis our grave anxiety concerning the conditions consequent upon the present conduct of the Mexican Government in its persecution of religion." (Liberty Dead in Mexico: Speech of Hon. James A. Gallivan. Washington, 1926, p. 26)

The Calles Edict of Enforcement

The Edict of July 2, 1926, (translated into English) was published in full in the New York Times of August 1. This edict was authorized by a special act of Congress of January 7, 1926, in order to make effective the provisions of the Constitution dealing with religious bodies and individuals. Among the specifications are the following:

Superiors, priors, prelates, directors who violate the law forbidding monastic orders "shall be punished with a penalty of six years imprisonment."

Any prelate who publicly incites his readers or his audience to disavowal of the political institutions or disobedience of the laws shall be punished with six years imprisonment and incur a second class fine.

Persons who transgress the law regarding religious instruction in private primary schools shall be fined 500 pesos (\$250) or 15 days imprisonment.

Ministers who criticize the laws of the country shall be imprisoned

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from one to five years.

Aliens who violate the law requiring that only Mexican born citizens may exercise the ministry of any cult shall be fined not to exceed 5000 pesos, or imprisoned not to exceed 15 days.

No meetings shall be held of a political nature in churches, a variety of penalties being provided for first and second offenses.

The Constitution itself requires the registration of the priest in charge of a church and of a property holding company of ten. It prescribes their duties and establishes liability to a penalty of 1000 pesos for disobedience.

Regulations and penalties are also specified for municipal authorities who fail to enforce the laws.

The Reply of the Hierarchy

Pastoral Letter signed by seven Archbishops and twenty-nine Bishops of Mexico (July 25, 1926).

"Since 1917 when we raised our voice in protest to His Holiness Benedict XV until the present time our conduct has always been of prudent silence, because the Mexican anti-religious ^Uclases were not applied to the extent of making impossible the existence of the church ... They never made impossible the administration of sacraments and the exercise of cults in general. ... But the regulations now issued by the Federal executive injure to such an extent the divine rights of the church ... and individual duty to worship God (and) are so contrary to the Mexican constitutional rights, that before such violation of so sacred moral values it is impossible for us to yield any further. ..."

The prelates "protest against the decrees (of July 2) before God, before civilized humanity, before the country and history. With God's favor and your ... cooperation we will work to effect an amendment of the decree and the anti-religious provisions of the Constitution and we

will not desist from our purpose until it is attained. ...

"Therefore, confronting the impossibility of practicing our sacred ministry under the conditions imposed by this decree, and after having consulted the Most Holy Father, His Holiness the Pope and with his ratification, we order that after July 31 until we order otherwise all religious services requiring the intervention of priests shall be suspended in all the churches of the country."

"Church buildings will not be closed, so worshippers may pray within them. The priests in charge of the buildings will be withdrawn in order to release them from the penalties imposed by the decree, and so, priests will not have to give the notification required by the law. We leave the churches under the care of the worshippers, and we are sure they will guard the sanctuaries which they inherited from their ancestors, or which they built themselves for the worship of God.

"As the law does not grant Catholic primary schools, the necessary permission to impart religious teachings to which they are bound, we impose it upon the conscience of all fathers to prevent their sons from attending schools where their faith and good customs are endangered and where the tests violate that religious neutrality recognized by the constitution itself."

"And for a greater reason, it is necessary to attach the shameful title of traitor to our own religion and to apply heavy canonical penalties to any person who under cover of so-called popular action may give information against the clergy or sacred property."

The penalty of excommunication is prescribed for those who issue laws, regulations or decrees against what are held to be the rights and liberties of the church, those who prevent the exercise of religious jurisdiction, those who bring a bishop before a laical court, those giving their names to Masonry or similar sects that oppose the church and the church authorities, those who infringe ecclesiastical property

rights. (Associated Press Dispatch from Mexico City, July 25, 1926)

Contentions of the Calles' Government

The contention of the Mexican Hierarchy that the Government was engaged in "religious persecution" brought forth an official reply from President Calles, published in the New York World on February 25, 1926. It is so important and so short that it is given here in full.

"Paragraph 3 of Article 130 of the Mexican Constitution states: 'To exercise in the United States of Mexico the ministry of any cult it is necessary to be a Mexican by birth.' The foreign priests whose presence in Mexico is no longer being tolerated had been flouting this constitutional provision with full consciousness of their misdoing.

"On various occasions they had received warnings from the Department of the Interior to cease exercising their ministry and dedicate themselves to some other activity if they were desirous of remaining in this country. Without paying any attention to these notifications the priests to whom I refer continued exercising their ministry in violation of Article 130 of the constitution. In addition, almost all of them were violating Article 3, which provides in paragraph 2 that 'no religious corporation or minister of any cult will be permitted to establish or superintend primary schools.'

"For this reason and without such measure signifying religious persecution for any Church and even less indicating a sentiment of animosity toward any foreigner a government which is desirous of complying with its constitutional obligations would have no other course than to oblige the constant violators of its fundamental law to leave the country.

"In contrast with the attitude of the expelled priests there have been numerous ministers of other cults who have obeyed the constitutional provisions. They have dedicated themselves to other legal activities,

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such as teaching secondary schools or to orienting or superintending suitable activities of their Church, but without exercising their offices in ritualistic acts and leaving to Mexican ministers the performance of the strictly confessional work of their religion. These ministers have not been and will not be molested.

"As invariably occurs when Mexican questions are under consideration, an effort has been made to distort the facts. The people of the United States are asked to believe that a single question of obedience to and respect for the fundamental law of our country involves a campaign of religious persecution which would necessarily be repugnant and almost inexplicable in a country ~~which~~ such as the United States, in which fortunately ecclesiastical and religious matters have always been absent from civil and political legislation. In the United States the religious leaders have ruled pacifically in the moral sphere and as yet have not complicated governmental affairs by the least mixing of spiritual things with temporal things or by going out of their legitimate sphere of action to invade the political field.

"Another instance of distortion of the facts during these days has been the declaration that numerous private schools in Mexico have been closed. What has in reality occurred is that upon the discovery of convents, whose existence is not authorized by the laws in force, there have been found annexed primary schools contrary to the provisions of article three of the constitution. These schools have not been closed, but obliged to adjust their status to the aforesaid provisions.

"Even if the recent public display of disobedience and opposition to the fundamental laws of the country by the head of the Mexican Catholic Church had not been made, this government in complying with its duty to observe and cause to be observed the Constitution of the country would have proceeded in the manner that it has if these concrete cases had come to its attention.

"But it is easily understood, in view of the history of our country and the painful consequences Mexico has experienced through the intrusion of the Catholic clergy in the pacific development of the national institution, of which it has been the traditional enemy, that corrective steps should be taken. It was especially necessary, in view of the possibility of a new intrusion of the Mexican Catholic clergy in matters of a temporal or political character, to insure the exclusion of foreign elements not allowed as ministers of religion by the Constitution, since these elements precisely because of being foreigners, could only impart to the indicated problem more serious and difficult characteristics.

"With regard to the future the attitude of the government of Mexico toward the Catholic priests or the ministers of any other cult cannot be different for American citizens from that adopted for those of other nationalities. But it is necessary to say that the violations of the law by American citizens in this respect are not so numerous as those of the nationals of other countries. Almost without exception the American ministers of confessional Churches which are not Catholic adjust themselves while residing in Mexico to what the law demands. For this reason they are not molested, thus bringing about the development and prosperity of their Churches through the work of Mexican ministers and living tranquilly and respected among us, merely performing acts of religion."

The charges of the Hierarchy against the Government in its Pastoral letter of July 25 brought out another statement from President Calles on July 31 (published in the New York Times on August 1, 1926) from which several quotations are here given. He begins by referring to the "Heads of the Catholic Church who try to ignore, and who confess that they are violating and wish to continue violating, Mexican legislation." This he characterizes as "their rebellious attitude." "That which the said document states and the falsehoods that it affirms are the most

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absolute justification of our Government." "It is completely false that ... the Federal Government let us not say hinders, but even limits, religious preaching within the churches ... and as to the administration of sacraments, there is no disposition which impedes or makes difficult their administration within or without the churches."

The Archbishops and Bishops "invade the sphere of politics and government and provoke movements of disorder and incite secretly or openly to rebellion."

The Hierarchy is in "fear of losing that which they call sacred property, which since the Reform Laws (1859)... is the property of the nation." It objects also to "the demand of the Government upon the priests in charge of the churches to give to the municipal authorities the report required by the law."

^{which} "The report which the priests in charge of the churches must give ... who so alarms and angers the Mexican Episcopacy, is not a new demand but a constitutional obligation." We need this report for the "elemental objects of compiling statistics... and for the sake of the elemental demands of hygiene and public policy, etc., such as careful registering all places destined for public service."

The hierarchy "cannot point out one act or illegal disposition directed against or applied only to Catholic priests."

"The Episcopacy ... advises parents to fulfill in their homes the serious mission of educators that God has entrusted to them, which is exactly the thesis that the Government of Mexico" has been urging.

"The monastic orders do not constitute an essential ... condition for the exercise of religious worship nor does their prohibition imply an attack ... on the confessional aspect of the Catholic religion. Most Catholic countries and Catholic Governments have expelled or dissolved many times in the course of their history distinct monastic orders."

"We have real curiosity to know what self respecting Government

would tolerate ... attacks in the Churches upon its Constitution, its laws and upon its Governors."

Just
at the
Palace

"But while intolerance prevails, especially of the Catholic priests ... to permit this (religious services outside of churches) would be a cause of constant political upheaval."

Also
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The Decree "does not forbid, nor try to forbid preaching, the administration of sacraments or religious worship in general."

The "motive" of the Mexican Episcopacy is "to return to a political and religious condition similar to that which existed in Mexico down to the Constitution of 1857, -- an attempt which naturally is going to result in the complete defeat of the bad clergy who have forgotten their spiritual function and dream of dominions of a temporal and anachronistic order."

What Happened August 1, 1926

The Decree defining penalties for enforcing the religious provisions of the Constitution went into effect August 1, 1926. In obedience to the orders of the Hierarchy all priests left their churches on Friday night July 30 so that all regular services ceased on Saturday the 31st the day before the Decree became effective.

In order to preserve order and protect church buildings small bodies of police or soldiers were stationed at every church. Committees of ten citizens were appointed by the municipal authorities to take charge of each church building and provisions were made for a careful inventory of all the sacred treasures.

Many expected that serious rioting and bloodshed would occur when the Government took over the churches. Enormous crowds thronged the churches during the week preceding to secure baptism and confirmation for their children, but the Government was well prepared for any emergency, and there was no disorder. Contrary to the imaginative re-

ports circulated in the United States the most reliable observers in Mexico City stated that there was no bloodshed and no rioting. Rumors of disturbances came in to the Capitol during several days subsequently, but in most cases later reports showed that they were gross exaggerations.

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The Temples remained open for private worship at the customary hours notwithstanding the fears of many. Multitudes availed themselves of the privilege of personal worship.

On Sunday, August 1, a demonstration and parade took place in support of the religious policy of the Calles Government. Between 30,000 and 50,000 men and women marched in orderly form before the President and his cabinet who reviewed the parade from a balcony of the National Palace. The paraders represented all kinds of civic organizations and government employes. Large, quiet, well dressed, and well behaved crowds were on the streets to see the sights. The fact that no disturbances took place was attributed by some to the forethought of the Hierarchy and the priests who cautioned loyal Catholics to keep off the streets and to have no part in violent demonstrations.

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The general attitude and psychology of the paraders may be judged from mottoes and slogans on the banners which the various groups carried. The following are samples.

- "Citizens of Mexico, not Servants of Rome"
- "Let those who make merchandise in the Temples get out"
- "Catholic education has produced abundance of ignorance"
- "By their fruits ye shall know them. Matthew VII, 10"
- "The Roman Church displays its pomp, but Christ despises riches"
- "General Calles, here we are"
- "The Pope does not govern Mexico"

A Statement from General Obregon

Rumors have been circulated that General Obregon was not in sympathy with the religious policies of the Calles Government. However, on August 2

3, the following message ~~xxx~~ from him was published in Mexico City:

"It is evident that the high dignitaries of the Catholic Church have provoked this conflict, since through their mouthpiece of their highest representative, Archbishop Mora y del Rio, they issued their first declarations in a spirit of manifest rebellion against the fundamental laws which govern us." (The World in English, Mexico, August 3, 1926)

The Hierarchy's Reply to President Calles

The reply of the Hierarchy to President Calles' charges of July 31 is a long document published in the New York Times (August 9). It denies point by point his various accusations. It complains against the limitation of the number of priests; registration of the priests, as "contrary to the dictates of conscience and to the liberty which all ministers of a cult have the right to enjoy;" the allegation that the church heads have "invaded the field of politics" or "are provoking rebellion openly or secretly."

Concerning the monastic orders forbidden by the Constitution, the Hierarchy declares that "it is the Church that must determine what things are necessary and what are not. ...No country can idly itself civilized which refused to admit monastic orders." The statement says further that "in no other country are Catholics forbidden to defend their rights through the public press. In Mexico, so far as it affects the Church the press hasx been gagged."

"The Church", the Hierarchy declares, "is not ambitious for temporal power and is not striving to obtain a privileged situation. The only thing we are seeking ... is equality before the law of true religious liberty similar to that which all religious professions have in other countries."

A distinct change of national policy under Calles is charged:

"From the Government of Juarez to that of Obregon no definite effort

was made to ruin the Church. It was only when President Calles tried to carry out those provisions that the Church rebelled against the laws which are against religious liberty.

On August 18 the Hierarchy addressed a letter to the President himself denying his charges of "rebellion against the laws of the republic" and stating that they propose to avail themselves of constitutional methods for seeking a change in the laws.

They maintain that suspension of public worship in the churches cannot justly be characterized as "rebellion". "Citizens have the right to suspend the exercise of their professions when they conscientiously believe that the legal requirements are contrary to their beliefs. That cannot be called rebellion. ... We believed that our conduct has been one of respect to the laws, in so far as our consciences will permit. ..."

"Now, filled with the most sincere patriotism and desirous of a true and stable peace, we come to request you to use your influence so that there may be reform in the most effective manner of the articles referred to, naturally also of the penal regulations which have been enforced."

Specifically the Hierarchy requested "the right of liberty of conscience, of thought, of creed, of education, of teaching, of association and of the press."

The President's Reply

President Calles' reply on the next day approves of the use by the Hierarchy of the "right of petition" but he adds:

"I must sincerely tell you that I am the least fitted person to comply with said petition ... as the constitutional articles you protest against are in perfect accord with my philosophical and political conviction. ..."

President Calles then says they may, if they wish, appeal to the Deputies and Senators of the Federal Congress or to the local legislators or if they feel that the decree goes beyond the Constitution they may appeal to the Federal courts for an injunction. He also declares it his intention, "complying with my duty as ruler, not to hinder your legal action seeking the amendment^d of the laws by those in a position to modify them." He adds, however, "It is not true as you affirm, that it has not been

the intention to charge you and still less is it true that you have been charged with rebellion or having suspended public services in the churches. ... Such acts as we have considered and shall go on considering as rebellious are those which will involve public uprisings and open hostilities and movements to amend the political constitution of the Republic through proceedings which the same Constitution does not provide, as well as every other act by means of which unlawful opposition is offered to the fulfillment of the laws."

The Pope and the Controversy in Mexico

A special wire from Mexico of August 23 published in New York the next day reported a cable from Rome stating that, "unless the Mexican Government suspends all regulations of the penal code affecting religion and the order for registration of the priests, the Episcopate can not continue negotiations for an adjustment of the controversy between the Church and the State."

Another cable from the Pope addressed to the Hierarchy was reported from Mexico City on August 27 reading as follows:

"Press reports announce that you are entering into agreements which do not conform to the instructions given by the Holy See. We are awaiting information. Meanwhile we will not depart from the determination which the Episcopate from the first has taken with such firm determination and which was eulogized by the entire world. Cable without delay. Gasparri."

The Bishop's reply reads:

"The published reports are absolutely false. In no manner will we depart, with the help of God, from the instructions given by the Holy See. Firmness is the attitude of the Bishops. All are absolute in their obedience and love. They implore the Holy Father's blessing. Mora."

The Campaign of the Knights of Columbus

Early in August, at a gathering of the Knights of Columbus at Philadelphia, an emphatic resolution was adopted calling on President Coolidge and the State

Department to intervene in Mexico. " We warn our fellow American citizens that they can not endure at their very doorsteps, with impunity, the Russiianizing of Mexico. The Soviet philosophy controls the military powers of Mexico. The family to them is a myth and marriage a degradation. They have robbed it of its sanctity. Their conception of God is contempt for all religion. ..."

"And all this system in Mexico has been created under American auspices, sustained by American executive authority which, in the first place, while refusing to recognize Lenin and Trotsky, has, by executive order of recognition, accepted Calles and Obregon, who are the enthusiastic supporters of the Bolshevist concept of government.

"We further point to the significance of the patronage bestowed upon these military despots by the continuance of such recognition, and particularly by the discriminating favoritism shown to Calles by the continuance of the embargo, which makes the Calles ascendancy possible."

The President and the Department of State are called upon to "put an end to this ignominious contempt which has been shown by Calles for Americans' appeal and to resolutely demand protection for American citizens."

This plea has been repeatedly made by Roman Catholics in the United States. It was given striking expression for instance by Dr. McGuire in the article in Current History for June already referred to: "When at the end of 1923 our present Administration took the law into its own hands and sold arms to the Obregon Government, simultaneously prohibiting their sale to de la Huerta, we acquired a virtual suzerainty over Mexico."

The resolution of the Knights of Columbus received wide and critical comment in all parts of the United States. It was interpreted as calling for immediate intervention and at the very least for lifting the arms embargo.

On September 1, James A. Flaherty, Supreme Knight, and "other supreme officers" had a conference with President Coolidge and, as reported in the New York Times, "interpreted the summary demand upon the American Government as a request for

the exertion of its 'good offices to ameliorate conditions which oppress the Mexican people.'"

Mr. Flaherty after the conference "declared the position of the organization to be opposed to intervention in Mexico, against lifting the arms embargo, in favor of continuance of recognition of the Calles Government, desirous of sympathetic action by this Government to put an end to conditions there and not to support or aid President Calles in the present conflict between the Catholic Church and the Mexican Government." He stated that his organization was "without evidences of outrages against American citizens in Mexico."

In explaining the positions of his organization Mr. Flaherty stated that "During the Administration of Obregon this Government supplied him with arms and munitions of war, including military airplanes, at the same time placing an embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Mexico.

"Also, for the first time in history, this Government permitted the transport and passage of armed military forces of another Government across American Territory when it permitted troops of Obregon to go from Nogales to El Paso for the purpose of suppressing a revolution.

"We are of the opinion that conditions that exist in Mexico today result from interference by this Government in the manner indicated, and but for such interference Carranza, Obregon and the Calles ~~Government~~ Government would not have existed.

"Our resolution is a protest against the attitude of this Government and we feel as American citizens that it was our duty to bring this matter forcibly to the attention of the President of the United States, the State Department and the American people in the hope that the condition complained of would be remedied and that this Government might use its good offices to ameliorate conditions which oppress the Mexican people." (New York Times, September 2, 1926)

The Petition of the Hierarchy to the Congress

On September 7, 1926 the Hierarchy presented to Congress, which had assembled on September 1, their petition for changes in the Constitution. In his message

to Congress, President Calles had again criticized the Church and had again drawn the fire of the Hierarchy in a sharply worded reply. Following its petition to Congress, the Hierarchy presented 53 packages of signatures reported to number 162,830. The petition specifies the articles and section in full detail in which changes are asked for. In the introductory section the following sentences are found:

"What is it that we request? Not tolerances nor compensations, much less favors. We demand liberty. We do not demand liberty for us alone but for all religions. ... A regime of antagonism against religion can not but be one of denial of liberty. ..."

The following day the Episcopate issued a long pastoral letter to the people in which they "exhorted the faithful to persevere in their resistance to the religious laws."

On September 23, 1926, debates on the Petition took place. The decision was soon reached (179 to 1) not to consider the document, on the ground that the clergy who signed it did not have the right of petition because, according to clause 3 of Article XXXVII of the Constitution, they had lost their citizenship.

The Hierarchy accordingly issued (October 2, 1926) a long defense of their position and rights as citizens and particularly of their right of petition. "It is evident", they declared, "that the Chamber of Deputies lacks jurisdiction in this matter," (i.e. of determining whether or not one has forfeited citizenship). "It is true that we have declared to the Roman Pontiff our objection to several articles of our ^{Charta} Magna;

The clause in question reads: - "The quality (status) of Mexican citizenship is lost...III. By compromise before a minister of a religious sect, or before any other person, not to observe the present Constitution or the laws arising thereunder." On the face of it the Congress would seem to be correct in adjudging citizenship forfeited, if the Constitution is to be interpreted literally. At the same time the matter is not clear enough to preclude argument.

Toward the close of their statement the Hierarchy declare that "In spite of all this the Mexican people should not despair because of this unjust refusal. They must persevere in their noble attitude. They must continue working through legal means until their ideas triumph. *Only by doing this can they avoid bloodshed.*

"Red Mexico"

The Knights of Columbus issued during September two pamphlets in its "campaign against the red peril in Mexico." A million copies of "Red Mexico" have already been disposed of and a "second million is now on the press for distribution upon request."

The second pamphlet "Mexico?" declares that the campaign of the Knights of Columbus is making magnificent headway. Already from all corners of the continent has come an unbelievably vigorous and generous support."

The last page of the second pamphlet states that "The K. of C. is raising one million dollars to combat Bolshevism. The opposing forces of barbarism and civilization, of communism and individual liberty, of materialism and religion are coming to grips. The lovers of right and freedom must unite if the world is to be saved for tolerant and free and wholesome living.... It is the aim of the order to give non-Knights and non-Catholics opportunity to subscribe."

Recent Developments in Mexico

The revolt of the Yaqui Indians in Sonora in September seems to be a rather serious affair. On October 14 Deputy Gonzales Santos speaking in the Mexican Congress, according to a dispatch published in New York on the 15th charged "that Adolfo de la Huerta, former President of Mexico, Felix Diaz, nephew of the late President Diaz, the Catholic Bishop of Sonora and the American Knights of Columbus were fomenting the revolt." Other deputies declared that "The Government had evidence which showed that the Knights of Columbus and certain oil interests had raised \$4,000,000 to overthrow the present Government and to place in power a new group which agreed to make certain changes in the 1917 Constitution, especially in Article XXVII which refers to oil and also to the land and mining laws."

A special dispatch of October 13 to the New York Times stated that the Archbishop of Puebla, ten priests and about twenty-five Catholics had been arrested. The Archbishop was brought to Mexico City and lodged in a military prison. The charges were unknown. "The priests are charged with conspiracy against the Calles Government."

Experiences of Protestant Evangelical Churches and
Workers Under the Calles Government

There is general agreement among Protestant missionaries that the policy of the Calles Government is not anti-religious nor inimical to the missionary program of the Protestant churches in Mexico, since it has been the policy of these denominations to conform to the Constitution and the laws of the country. At the same time there is a disposition on the part of the Protestant missionary authorities to regard some of the Government's measures as extreme and as calling for a revision of its policy.

News from Mexico in the American Press

Among the striking facts of the situation has been the great popular interest in the United States in the Mexican problem of the State and Church as shown by the front page position given to the news during late July and early August, and at the same time the wholly misleading character and gross exaggerations of not a few reports and especially of the headlines in even our most reliable papers.

It would certainly have been a "story" of great importance if it had been true that "Mexico Orders Catholics Disarmed" as given in a ^{my}glary headline in the New York Times of July 30, or as the New York Herald-Tribune worded it "Mexico Disarming All Catholics." Inquiry shows that the "story" was not true.

Similarly misleading was the big headline in the New York Times August 1 that "Catholic Labor Breaks with Calles." There was no particle of truth behind this rumor, as the author of the "special cable to the New York Times" might easily have learned.

Similarly false was the "story" of that same day that "Bloodshed occurred at several churches in Mexico City when crowds attacked the officials with stones and other missiles. Police and firemen were rushed to the churches to quell the rioting."

Careful inquiry in Mexico City from Government officials by a group of Americans that happened to be there during the days of the alleged riots and bloodshed, brought forth the statements that there was no rioting, no bloodshed and no deaths, as alleged by the Times (anonymous) reporter.

One of the urgent problems of our day is ~~certainly~~ that of discovering means by which to ensure accuracy of international news. Public opinion depends on news. False or misleading news tends to create dangerous public opinion.

The Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII

Important light is thrown on the entire controversy in Mexico between the Church and the State, and on the attitude of Roman Catholics in the United States toward that controversy by the Encyclical "Immortale Dei" of November 1, 1885. From this lengthy document which sets forth the authoritative Roman Catholic doctrine on the relations of the Church and State, the following are but a few of its significant declarations:

"The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, the other over human beings." (p. 7 *)

"The State is acting against the laws and dictates of nature whenever it permits the license of opinion and of action to lead minds astray from truth and souls away from the practice of virtue. To exclude the Church, founded by God Himself, from the business of life, from the power of making laws, from the training of youth, from domestic society, is a grave and fatal error." (p. 16 *)

"To wish the Church to be subject to the civil power in the exercise of her duty is a great folly and a sheer injustice." (p. 17 *)

* The State and the Church by John A. Ryan and Moerhouse F. X. Miller, S.J.

"The Church, indeed, deems it unlawful to place the various forms of divine worship on the same footing as the true religion, but does not, on that account, condemn those rulers who, for the sake of securing some great good or of hindering some great evil, allow patiently custom or usage to be a kind of sanction for each kind of religion having its place in the State." (p 19⁹ *)

Dr. John A. Ryan commenting on this Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII makes the following affirmations:

"But Pope Leo goes further. He declares that the State must not only 'have care for religion,' but recognize the true religion. This means the form of religion professed by the Catholic Church. It is a thoroughly logical position. If the State is under moral compulsion to profess and promote religion, it is obviously obliged to profess and promote only the religion that is true; for no individual, no group of individuals, no society, no State is justified in supporting error or in according to error the same recognition as to truth." (p. 32)

"All that is essentially comprised in the union of Church and State can be thus formulated: The State should officially recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the commonwealth; accordingly it should invite the blessing and the ceremonial participation of the Church for certain important public functions, as the opening of legislative sessions, the erection of public buildings, etc., and delegate its officials to attend certain of the more important festival celebrations of the Church; it should recognize and sanction the laws of the Church; and it should protect the rights of the Church, and the religious as well as the other rights of the Church's members." (pp. 34-35)

"Superficial champions of religious liberty will promptly and indignantly denounce the foregoing propositions as the essence of intolerance. They are intolerant, but not therefore unreasonable. Error has not the same rights as truth. Since the profession and practice of error are con-

trary to human welfare, how can error have rights? How can the voluntary toleration of error be justified? As we have already pointed out, the men defend the principle of toleration for all varieties of religious opinion, assume either that all religions are equally true or that the true cannot be distinguished from the false. On no other ground is it logically possible to accept the theory of indiscriminate and universal toleration." (p. 36)

"If there is only one true religion, and if its possession is the most important good in life for States as well as individuals, then the public profession, protection, and promotion of this religion and the legal prohibition of all direct assaults upon it, becomes one of the most obvious and fundamental duties of the State." (p. 37)

"In practice, however, the foregoing propositions have full application only to the completely Catholic State. This means a political community that is either exclusively, or almost exclusively, made up of Catholics. In the opinion of Father Pohle, 'There is good reason to doubt if there still exists a purely Catholic State in the world.' The ~~propositions~~ propositions of Pope Pius IX condemning the toleration of non-Catholic sects do not now, says Father Pohle, 'apply even to Spain or the South American republics, to say nothing of countries possessing greatly mixed population.' He lays down the following general rule: 'When several religions have firmly established themselves and taken root in the same territory, nothing else remains for the State than either to exercise tolerance towards them all, or, as conditions exist today, to make complete religious liberty for individuals and religious bodies a principle of government.' Father Moulart makes substantially the same statement: In a word, it is necessary to extend political toleration to dissenting sects which exist in virtue of a fact historically accomplished '" (p. 37-38)

"Therefore, we shall continue to profess the true principles of the

relations between Church and State, confident that the great majority of our fellow citizens will be sufficiently honorable to respect our devotion to truth, and sufficiently realistic to see that the danger of religious intolerance toward non-Catholics in the United States is so improbable and so far in the future that it should not occupy their time or attention." (p 39)

The Protestant View Point

The customary Protestant conception of the State and the Church is briefly summarized by the Rev. S. Parkes Cadman in his recent lectures "Christianity and the State."

"... the Christian Scriptures recognize in the State a divine institution, and speak of its administrators as officers of a Higher Authority. They inculcate civil obedience, exhort the converts of the early Church to be in subjection to political authority, and to pray for those appointed to exercise it. But their obedience and subjection are given as unto God; for the sake of their Lord, and not for the sake of man. Here are not two governments, each independent of or opposed to the other but one unreserved allegiance, including political loyalty, and always superior to it." (p 178)

A Summarized Statement

A careful study of the entire situation seems to warrant the following general conclusions:

1. The so-called politico-religious struggle in Mexico is but one phase of the more general struggle. The purpose of the revolution was to secure for the people a better life; it necessarily involved the overthrow of exploiters, some of whom undoubtedly have had the support of the Catholic Church in Mexico.

2. The Revolution comprehended a program for division of the feudal estates into small homesteads, the organizing of the wage earners and the raising of their standards of living, the educating of the masses, and the

building up of a national consciousness and unity. In seeking these ends a new and radical Constitution was enacted. It provided for the dispossession of all those powers that had hitherto exploited the people and deprived them of a chance at a free life, and it provided also numerous ways and means for constructively providing them with these things. It was a war document, and must be so judged.

3. The revolution is not yet over. Its violent phases are perhaps nearly over; its constructive civil and social phases are only fairly begun. The country is still in a phase of revolution. It is expropriating the land holders and dividing the land, fighting all those powers that oppose and have always opposed a social policy. That these include the aristocracy and the alien capitalist is well known. That the Catholic Church in Mexico has been, at the least, unresponsive to the liberal social aims of the Government, socially minded Catholics in America recognize. In particular the Government's program of founding schools by the thousand, and seeking through ^{them} to build up a democratic culture and a national patriotism seems to be unwelcome to the Catholic Hierarchy.

liberal?
4. The Government is seeking to re-establish the ancient fundamental law, dating back to old Spain, giving the state the rights to the sub-soil. Here it has a maze of difficulties with alien investors, some of them over legal points in their favor and some over supposed conflicts between international law and internal constitutional law. Labor has been organized and has become the bulwark of the Revolution. The Government is practically a labor government.

5. The social program, therefore, is the fundamental thing. The religious question is incidental, as are also the oil and land controversies with our government. From the standpoint of the Mexican Government all that lies in the way of its social program must be removed, and in their removal the government is determined to be sovereign.

6. It is undoubtedly true, however, - and this would seem to be a crucial point in appraising the Mexican situation, - that if the American Government were to enact such restrictions upon any Protestant body, regardless of what interest it has taken in political affairs or in promoting legislation, as the Mexican Government has enacted, a very ~~ixst~~ insistent protest would arise from every Protestant communion. The only possible justification for such restrictions must be found in the emergency which a revolutionary government finds itself and the necessity of stabilizing a new political regime. Even so, thoughtful people can not fail to ask, assuming the meritorious character of the Mexican government's land and labor program, can so great an assumption of power by the state over the church be in line with the permanent aims of liberty and democracy?

7. There is reason to believe that the political leaders of Mexico realize the force of these considerations, and that when they are assured of safety from foreign interference, both religious and secular, the severe restrictions now enforced may be considerably relaxed. The prerequisite to this end would seem to be obedience to the laws, even if under emphatic protest by all who are affected by them.

In conclusion it may be observed that the problems now vexing Mexico are age-old problems. Every European nation has had to struggle with these very questions regarding the respective rights and functions of Church and State and the true nature of religion as bearing on the progress and welfare of the people. These questions have involved the people of many lands in terrible conflicts which have shaken both the State and the Church to their very foundations.

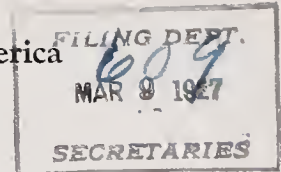
These are questions, therefore, that merit careful study by American citizens and churchmen alike, for the welfare of our own land will depend on an intelligent understanding and wise treatment of these profound issues.

F. E. Johnson

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

[Incorporated]

105 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
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RECEIVED

FEB 25 1927

Mr. Speer

February 24, 1927

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

re. publication of material on Mexico

Dear Dr. Speer:

Since it was at my request that Dr. Gulick cancelled the call for a meeting, which was to have been held on Wednesday of this week, of the committee appointed to review the article on American relations with Mexico, I wish to explain to you the present status of this monograph so far as this Department's relation to it is concerned.

It was our plan to send the draft which was sent to you last week to the State Department for further criticism and I had an appointment with Mr. Gunther of the Mexican Division for last Monday. In the meantime, however, I spent several hours with Mr. Frederic R. Kellogg, head of a large New York law firm, who was formerly a partner of Mr. Hughes and who is attorney for the largest oil interests in Mexico. Mr. Kellogg gave me additional information and raised certain questions of interpretation which I felt made it imperative to spend a few more days in checking up the facts and material before we could consider the manuscript complete. I therefore, after consultation with Dr. Gulick, cancelled my appointment with Mr. Gunther and the State Department and am now undertaking to make what additions and revisions in the manuscript seem to be necessary.

In brief, the situation is this. I feel that this document in its first form presents too largely the features of the situation in Mexico which loom largest in the minds of our American religious liberals, whereas there is a considerable body of fact which our government is bound to take account of irrespective of the social values that are undoubtedly being realized in the Mexican revolution. The revision that I have been making is in the direction of bringing more adequately into the picture

Dr. Robert E. Speer - 2

these concrete facts, which, in the nature of the case, have to be secured chiefly from those who have business interests in Mexico. There are also important legal aspects of the matter which I feel have not been fully appraised.

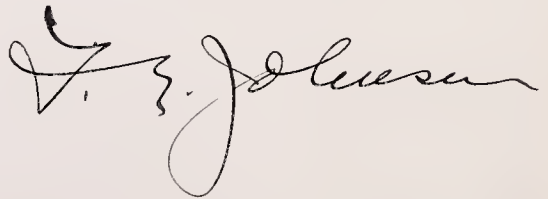
Dr. Gulick and I are now planning to bring together within a few days certain persons who are interested in the Mexican situation from different angles to discuss the most controversial questions and thus insure an adequate treatment of all relevant matters.

Since the proposal now is not to issue any statement on Mexico in the name of the Administrative Committee but to publish only an informational statement on the situation, I hope very much that the Administrative Committee at the meeting on Friday will definitely leave this matter in the hands of your committee. This is precisely the kind of material that is continually being given out through Information Service, and the procedure I am suggesting is quite in harmony with our usual policy.

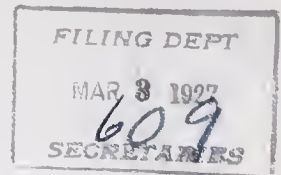
You have noted, of course, that the article on the religious situation is omitted entirely. I doubt the wisdom of discussing this at all in the Information Service. I hope the omission of it will meet with your approval.

If the matter can be referred to the special committee with power we shall probably be ready within ten days or so to send copy of the completed manuscript around to members of your committee for approval.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. J. Johnson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "FEJ.N".

FEJ.N



March 2, 1927

Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, D.D.
105 East 22nd Street
New York City

re. "articles on China"

My dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your note of February 26th with its article for the Information Service on the Present Situation in China, and also for your letter of February 28th with regard to the Mexico report. I have not yet been able to read the draft of the Mexico statement which you sent some time ago but I understand now that you are revising this and will have a completed manuscript to submit to the committee later.

The statement on the Present Situation in China is, I think, very good. There are a few points on which I would venture to comment.

The statement is correct that the ministers of China abroad are the ministers of the Peking government, but as a matter of fact I think they are acting also for the nationalist government.

Since you prepared the statement General Sun seems to have been pretty well eliminated and Chang Tsang-ch'ang seems to be in control of Shanghai and Nanking. This is only an illustration of how fast conditions may change so that by the time your Information Service comes out the opening paragraph of your statement might be already out of date. So if you want to make only a few changes in it you might substitute the name of General Chang Tsang-ch'ang for that of General Sun, but that situation, too, may change within a few days.

I wonder whether the bare statement on Page 3 - "Neither country has yet returned its port," does justice to Great Britain. She alleges that the failure of the return of Wai haiwei has been due to China's instability and not to Great Britain's unwillingness.

Not all the Customs force is British. In the main the administration has been British administration, but the Customs staff has been a good deal of an international staff.

With reference to the statement on Page 9 as to the employment of foreign police, I think it is a fact that innumerable Chinese police are employed in the Shanghai concession. One sees both in the international and in the French settlements a great many more Chinese than he sees Sikhs. I wonder also whether the first sentence in this paragraph on Page 9 really does justice to the actualities. I have much more frequently heard the theory that foreigners are in China only on sufferance than I have heard the theory that the Chinese are in the settlements only on sufferance, and actually, of course, the settlements are absolutely dependent upon the Chinese.

Would it not be well to add at the bottom of Page 9 a recognition of the fact that the main events that are going on in China are internal. You say that recent events might well be classified under two groups and both of these have to do with China's foreign relationships. As the future will show China's foreign relationships are a very small part of her problem. The idea so constantly advanced that Chinese poverty is due to foreign capitalism and exploitation is wholly mythical. Chinese poverty is due to quite other causes which are very deep and difficult. The most significant thing in the recent events in China is really not the matters referred to at the bottom of Page 9, but the deep surge, as one hopes it is, of new life tides of national feeling and purpose, part of whose expression is found in the attempt to correct external relations, but the larger part in the attempt to achieve a democratic sovereignty and economic progress within China.

I do not quite understand the statement at the bottom of Page 12 in a sentence beginning "its proponents." I did not know that France had promised any transfer of leased property, and it is definitely stated now that Great Britain has transferred back to China the Hankow and Kuikiang possessions..

On page 15 I wish you would substitute the word required for compulsory. I have never been able to understand why the word required is used in connection with attendance of scientific teaching and physical exercises and even military drill while the word compulsory is substituted the minute religious teaching is in question. I should think in the phrase as you have it the word compulsory is unnecessary inasmuch as you are using the word required.

The last two sentences of this paragraph I think might mislead. Yenching University voted a year ago to accept the regulations but to this day they have not registered under them as nobody can know from day to day what changes may be made nor who the actual authorities are who will continue in control.

Yale was entirely willing to accept the regulations but was shut up none the less.

The closing of all the institutions in Hunan came entirely regardless of their attitude toward the regulations or government registration. If some missionaries regard it as a serious error others have regarded it as the part of wisdom. That has been the case with Yenching, although, as I say, it has had authority to register for a full year. I should think it would be safest for the present to omit these last two sentences.

I would suggest the addition of another paragraph written in full sympathy with China, setting forth more fully what her real problems will be.

There is only one modern court in China to over 4,000,000 people; there are a few model prisons but most of the prisons in China are a scandal. The work of building up a state and developing a responsible and just government must be undertaken. The idea that the communists are circulating that the economic problem can be solved by a redistribution of

Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, D.D.

- 3 -

wealth is wholly false; it can be solved only by an immense increase of production. If you have not already read the first article in the March issue of the Atlantic Monthly, you should do so.

With regard to the statement in your paper as to the Customs conference and the Extra-territoriality Commission, have you read the full report of the Extra-territoriality Commission? I think it would be well if you would do that and also Mr. Strawn's address before the recent meeting of the Chambers of Commerce in Colorado Springs.

Mr. Strawn has written a very interesting statement also about the Conference and the Commission in a letter to the Chinese Students' Monthly. I do not know whether it has appeared in the Monthly but I have a copy of the correspondence between Mr. Strawn and Mr. Chao, the editor of the Monthly. I think if you and Dr. Gulick have not seen this you would be interested in reading it. Will you kindly return this to me at your earliest convenience?

Very cordially yours,

RES/SCB

F. E. Johnson

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

[Incorporated]

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Department of
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WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, CHAIRMAN
F. ERNEST JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED

March 31, 1927

Rev. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Speer:

I am handing you herewith a redraft of the statement on Mexico which it is proposed to publish in Information Service.

Contrary to our custom, this article, because of its importance and the interest the Administrative Committee has had in it, has been made the subject of consideration by a special committee of the Administrative Committee of which you were recently made a member. The committee had already met once or twice and has made its report to the Administrative Committee. It is now released subject to the approval of the sub-committee.

Since the matter has been so long delayed and the subcommittee has gone into it so thoroughly it may not be necessary to have a further meeting. I will call your office after you have had time to go through the manuscript.

I think it will not take much of your time since the changes from the earlier manuscript which you read are not very extensive.

Sincerely yours,

F. E. Johnson

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Enc.

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APR 8 1927

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN OIL AND LAND CONTROVERSYForeword

This is an informational document. In preparing it an earnest effort has been made to discover the relevant facts with reference to the present controversy between the United States and Mexico. Its purpose is not to pass judgment upon the issues involved but to define and clarify them with reference to established principles and precedents in international relations.

The present Mexican-American situation involves and illustrates certain general principles regarding the problem of international relations and of war and peace, concerning which the churches have clear convictions. Not, however, until they are adequately informed regarding the exact nature of the issues involved are they in position to form moral judgments. The present document is offered as an aid to clear thinking upon these issues.

1. The Historical Background

In order to grasp the real significance of the disturbed situation in Mexico, one needs to know first of all certain facts in Mexican history.

The conquest of Mexico by Cortez imposed on the Indian population a Spanish ruling aristocracy and hierarchy. These rulers became possessed of large estates, some covering hundreds of square miles, which in time came to be governed by relatively irresponsible and incompetent underlings. This resulted in conditions under which the native population is estimated to have diminished from fourteen million in the 15th century to six million at the end of the 18th. For more than a

hundred years, however, the population has been increasing and has now reached the size it had attained four hundred years ago. In 1910 the listed estates or plantations were reported to number 834, owned by absentee landlords who lived mostly in the capital of Mexico or in Europe.

When independence from Spain was secured in 1821 the people were not prepared for self-government. Hence has come a century of revolutions with oppression, misgovernment and misery. Partisan politics, favoritism and personal ambition have been rife, with their inevitable consequences ~~mk~~ to the intellectual, social and economic life of the nation.

The ancient system of land-ownership was communal. An eminent authority* describes it thus: "From time immemorial - prior to the coming of the Spaniards, during the entire colonial period and during the national period until 1890 - the majority of the sedentary Indians of Mexico had lived in villages which had owned and had administered in their own way, inalienable communal lands known as ejidos. The minimum size of an ejido came to be one square league, or approximately 4,390 acres. There was no fixed maximum size for an ejido and some villages and towns owned as many as four square leagues of communal lands (17,500 acres), for example, Colima, with a population of approximately 25,000 persons. These Indian ejidos, prior to 1890, had constituted the principal means of support for the majority of the Indians in Mexico. They had not made for opulence, but with them the Indians had been content and self-supporting." This situation was wholly changed by Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910). On May 12, 1890, he decreed that these village communal lands, or ejidos, should be expropriated and allotted to private owners. The decree seems to have been

* Citation

carried out with brutal thoroughness, resulting in the separation of by far the larger part of the Indian villages on the central plateau of Mexico from their communal lands. The Indians themselves suffered a terrific economic degradation, many of them being reduced to virtual slavery in debt service.

Diaz adopted the policy of "buying off political rivals", of modernizing the country through the introduction of foreign capital, and of a rapid development of natural resources. During his regime, he disposed of national domain that has been estimated as aggregating 134,547,985 acres - "more than three times the size of New England." These lands went to build up a system of enormous estates - "haciendas". Thus the landlords were enriched at the expense of the masses. The census of 1910 showed an area of 550,000 square miles owned by 6,000 persons who averaged 58,000 acres or 92 square miles each. It is estimated that over forty million acres (62,500 square miles) in Mexico have come into the hands of American owners. This is between 8 and 9 per cent of the total area of the country.

While these disastrous conditions among the native population were developing foreign investors were discovering and possessing the natural resources of the land and were popularly represented as taking the whole of their gains out of the country and giving no heed to the needs of the people. This, of course, was not true. The oil companies point with satisfaction to the wealth they have left in Mexico in payment for labor and in taxes - 75 cents, one large company reports, of every dollar it made during the last five years. But the picture which the people saw was one of unmitigated exploitation at the hands of foreigners.

American investments in Mexico have been variously estimated between \$1,020,000,000 (1924) by Mr. Fish of the Bankers Trust Company of New

York and \$1,280,000,000 (1924) by the U. S. Department of Commerce. Of this latter sum \$478,000,000 were estimated as investments in oil lands and refineries. Official statistics, however, given by former Mexican foreign minister, Pani, showing that the entire petroleum industry was capitalized at \$1,000,532,434. Of this sum 91.5% or a total of \$960,819,434 was held by the American and British interests while only 1.1% was held by Mexican interests. No estimates seem to be available of the amount of foreign capital actually imported into Mexico for investment.

II. Sketch of the Revolution (1910-1924)

In May, 1911, Francisco Madero, Jr., with the help of General Villa, started the revolution. Diaz resigned and sailed for France, where he died on July 2, 1915. Madero was elected president in October, 1911, and took office the next month. Various revolts, however, occurred, leading to much disorder. On March 2, 1912, all Americans in Mexico were warned to withdraw from Mexico, and shortly afterward shipment of arms to Mexican rebels was prohibited.

General Victoriano Huerta took command of the federal forces in June, 1912, and quelled several insurgent leaders, including General Felix Diaz (nephew of the former president) who, however, escaped and brought on a reign of terror in Mexico City during which several thousand Mexicans were killed. General Huerta then turned against Madero, who was forced to resign and was killed on February 23, 1913. General Huerta became the head of the military oligarchy, and adopted an administrative policy that resembled the Diaz policy more than that proclaimed by Huerta.

Governor Venustiano Carranza promptly opposed Huerta and led a revolt, supported by ten states, which stood for the Constitution of 1857. They fought a sanguinary battle, May 9-12, 1913, General Obregon heading the Constitutionalists. Four years of turmoil followed. On

February 4, 1914, President Wilson lifted the arms embargo thus giving all revolutionists access to munitions.

Under strong pressure from Washington, President Huerta resigned and sailed for France, where he died. General Carranza thereupon entered Mexico City (August 20, 1914) as the "First Chief", but he met with resistance, notably from Generals Villa and Zapata, which resulted in continued turmoil and battles. Between September, 1914, and February, 1915, Mexico City changed hands six times. On October 19, 1915, Carranza was given de facto recognition by the American government and eight associated Latin-American republics. By the end of 1916 he was in sufficient control of the country to convene a constitutional convention, which sat for several weeks and promulgated the new Constitution, effective May 1, 1917, and was himself elected president (March 11, 1917.) It is charged that this whole proceeding of Carranza's was itself not only in violation of the Constitution of 1857 of which he had proclaimed himself a supporter, but high handed in the extreme. However the resulting Constitution of 1917 is admittedly, whether by virtue of constitutional reform or purely revolutionary tactics, the only constitution the nation now has and from the point of view of international law the question of its legality is academic.

The proposed new land law (November 21, 1917) and the oil law (January 30, 1918) in conformity with the "nationalizing" provisions of the Constitution, started the present tension between the United States government and that of Mexico.

Dissatisfaction with the Carranza administration led to riots in Mexico City, to Carranza's withdrawal to Vera Cruz and to the occupation of Mexico City by General Obregon (May 10, 1920). In the ensuing struggle Carranza was killed (May 23). Congress thereupon elected Adolfo de la Huerta provisional president, but at the general election General

Obregon was chosen. He was inaugurated on December 1, 1920.

Since the beginning of Obregon's regime, conditions have remained fairly quiet. Early in 1921 General Villa made peace with Obregon but shortly thereafter was killed by political enemies (July 20, 1923).

In the general election of 1924, General Plutarco Calles, one of President Obregon's trusted followers, was elected for four years. He was inaugurated on January 1, 1925.

III. Objectives of the Revolution

The revolution of Madero (1910) was, at the start, political. It was a revolt against Diaz the dictator, and his small group of advisors and supporters who constituted a "closed political corporation". "Effective suffrage; no reelection" was the slogan of the revolution. It attracted, however, but a small minority of the people.

The deeper objective of the revolution was socio-economic. It sought to remedy the condition of the masses of the people, which had become deplorable, and in fact intolerable. Madero's declaration that he wished to "restore to their former owners the lands of which they were dispossessed in such arbitrary manner" was what rallied the downtrodden masses and gave the revolution a driving force that is apparently unabated.

As the revolution advanced and the ideas, objectives and programs of the leaders became more definite, the government undertook to deal with several distinct sets of problems.

1. The Agrarian Problem - that of restoring agricultural land to the landless Indians and building them up as a middle class.
2. The Industrial Problem - that of protecting industrial workers from exploitation, and providing proper conditions of labor, wages, etc. In this connection, it should be said that in some cases, at least, the status of the workers had been improved by the development of the oil

industry. A paternalistic policy, however, did not satisfy the leaders of the revolution.

3. The Economic Problem - that of conserving for the nation its great natural resources. Mexico is potentially one of the richest areas in the world.

4. The Educational Problem - that of giving effective and practical education to the entire population, fitting them for wholesome social, industrial, agricultural and intellectual life and for real self-government.

5. The Church Problem - that of dealing with the relations of church and state.

6. The Political Problem - that of maintaining the existence of the government against counter-revolutionary efforts and also that of extending its support among the people at large.

7. The International Problem - that of adjusting the nation's foreign policy to its economic program. This task was conceived to be the preventing of foreign investments from becoming a form of, or cause for, foreign domination.

The multiplicity, complexity and inherent difficulty of these problems has inevitably prevented immediate or even rapid solution. The more pressing problems have been taken first, such as the agrarian and industrial questions. The law regulating the exploitation of oil deposits, pursuant to the provisions of the new Constitution, was promulgated on December 31, 1925, and the alien land law, January 21, 1926. The present document deals only with the land and oil program of the Mexican government.

IV. Beginnings of the Controversy

As early as January, 1916, the American government made repre-

sentations to the Carranza government, concerning a decree which was understood to be forthcoming, nationalizing petroleum. The State Department pointed out to the Mexican government "in unequivocal terms the dangerous situation which might result from the issuance of any decree of a confiscatory character."

Word was shortly received from General Carranza that "the government is not contemplating the issuance of a decree nationalizing the petroleum industry." It appears, however, that while this was technically correct, since nationalization by decree was not attempted, the government was pursuing a policy which involved the nationalization of petroleum by constitutional change.

In August, 1916, the Mexican government announced its policy of requiring that foreigners who propose to acquire real estate, or permits for "exploration or exploitation of the natural riches ... shall present beforehand in writing ... a formal express declaration that in their capacity as proprietors or concessionaires ... they consider themselves Mexicans, waiving their rights as foreigners and privileges of appeal for protection or claim to their respective governments."

The State Department promptly informed the Mexican government that it would not recognize the validity of any such waiver on the part of American citizens.

On August 2, 1917, Ambassador Fletcher wired the State Department as follows:

"Mexico, August 2, 1917

"Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

"Confidential. In interview with President this morning I informed him that American oil and mining interests were concerned with regard to the attitude of the Mexican government with reference to the so-called nationalization of these industries. In reply he assured me that they

need not be; that it was not the intention of the Mexican government to take over properties now in exploitation and distinctly stated that there would be no confiscation of these properties.

"Fletcher."

V. The Constitution of 1917

The Constitution of 1917 for the most part followed that of 1857. Art. 27, however, dealing with the property rights of individuals and of civil and religious corporations, was expanded to ten times its original length and contained many new provisions, among them: -

The restoration to communities of their ejidos (communal land reservations) taken away by laws and grants under the Diaz regime.

The establishment of new ejidos by expropriation (with compensation) of land from large haciendas.

The revocation of the mining laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 which had established the proprietorship of oil deposits on the part of the owners of the surface, and hence had permitted surface owners to develop petroleum deposits without securing concessions therefor from the federal government.

Control by the national government of river, lake and sea waters within the national domain.

The organization and rights of stock companies and banks.

The granting of concessions to foreigners to exploit mineral and petroleum subsoil resources.

That part of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 which forms the basis of recent land and oil legislation, now under discussion reads as follows:

"Only Mexicans by birth or by naturalization, or Mexican cor-

porations, have a right to acquire dominion over lands, waters, and their dependencies, or to obtain concessions for the exploitation of mines, water power or combustible material in the Republic of Mexico. The state may concede the same right to foreigners, providing they agree in the Department of Foreign Affairs to consider themselves as Mexicans in all that has to do with said properties, and that they will not invoke the protection of their respective governments in matters relating to these properties; with the understanding that, in case they fail to comply strictly with this agreement, they will lose their rights over the properties which they have acquired by virtue of said agreement, same passing again to the dominion of the nation. Foreigners may not under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters which are not distant at least one hundred kilometers from a national boundary, or fifty kilometers from the Coast line."

VI. Principal Points in the Controversy

As a result of the adoption of this Constitution the American government came into controversy with the Mexican government on four distinct grounds. It is important that the precise points in controversy be understood.

1. The expropriation of large estates involving American titles without proper compensation. The American government regarded the procedure as plain confiscation of property.
2. The nationalization of subsoil petroleum rights involving American titles.
3. The requirement that nationals of other countries owning or leasing lands in Mexico must accept the status of Mexicans with respect to their property, relinquishing all right, under penalty of forfeiture, to appeal to their own governments to secure for them by diplomatic action what

the Mexican government does not grant them. This is the "Calvo clause".

4. Added to these issues is the question, which arose more recently, whether certain understandings arrived at in 1923, hereinafter explained, constituted a binding agreement on the part of the Mexican government to protect American property rights and whether these understandings constituted a condition of diplomatic recognition.

The Mexican government has consistently denied that Article 27 of the Constitution is retroactive with reference to aliens, but has persisted in the position that recognition of the Mexican government by the United States was unconditional and that the understandings arrived at previously did not in any sense constitute an obligation on the part of succeeding governments, although the Mexican government insists that the Calles government has not departed in any essential way from the assurances given the American commissioners at that time. The Mexican government also continues to adhere to the Calvo clause, although this matter has now been made the subject of a decision by the General Claims Commission, which will be referred to later.

The heart of the controversy is over the question of retroactivity, or more specifically, the question of confiscation. The American government demands assurances on this point of a definite and permanent sort, and is not satisfied with declarations of the executive or past decisions of the Mexican courts. The reason for this attitude will appear presently.

VII. Agrarian Reforms

The fact that many Indian villages had been deprived of their ancient communal lands during the Diaz regime - particularly through a decree issued on May 12, 1890, and the resulting concessions to foreign capitalists, and Madero's proposal to restore the ejidos were important factors in bringing support to the Madero Revolution of 1910. The desire

of Indian villages for the return of their lands has been of great political significance ever since. Madero, as already noted, vaguely promised restitution of lands but nothing definite was done until Carranza issued his decree on January 6, 1915, at Vera Cruz, in which he annulled the decrees of the Diaz regime which he pronounced illegal, declared that Indian villages would be allowed to petition for the return of their lands, set up national and state agrarian commissions and devised a procedure for a large scale redistribution of land. This procedure has been modified by regulations issued in 1920, 1921 and 1922.

In brief, the procedure is as follows: The Indian villages present their claims, with such evidence as they have in the form of crude maps and records, to the state agrarian commissions. These commissions make what is known as a provisional adjustment and passes its decision for review and final approval to the National Agrarian Commission, with headquarters in Mexico City and responsible to the President of the Republic. The National Commission's recommendation goes to the President himself, who issues the final decree determining the title to the land. The land is given to individual farmers in the village for their use only. It may not be sold. This means that private ownership is not being established, but a title is given to an individual, and the system differs from the primitive communal scheme which has been in effect for centuries.

Figures were furnished to the Research Department of the Federal Council by the official Mayor of the National Agrarian Commission in January, 1927, indicating the extent of the land distribution. To October, 1926, there had been finally conveyed to 1609 Indian villages a total of 2,836,531 hectares (2½ acres to a hectare) of land to the heads of 317,112 families. A considerable number of the provisional adjustments made by the state agrarian commissions had not yet been

reviewed by the National Commission. In addition, it was known that in October, 1926, provisional restorations had been made in 1055 villages of 2,525,849 hectares of land to 193,104 heads of families.

According to the authorized procedure, upon the issuance of the decree of the President, payment is offered to the former owners (individuals and corporations, many of whom are North Americans and other foreigners) in the form of 20 year bonds bearing 5 per cent interest with the principal payable 5 per cent annually. The amount paid is that for which the land was assessed for purposes of taxation, plus 10 per cent. Practically all of the American owners, whose lands have been involved in this distribution, have been unwilling to accept bonds and have preferred to present claims to the General Claims Commission, sitting in Washington, which was set up pursuant to the Convention entered into by the two governments in 1923.

The United States commissioners in 1923 contended that indemnification should be made ⁱⁿ cash and not bonds (the custom in England and the United States). It was agreed, however, by the Mexican commissioners that payment in bonds for lands expropriated would be acceptable but that it was not to be a precedent and that if Mexico could negotiate a foreign loan she would use the proceeds for cash payments to those whose lands were being returned to the Indians. But this loan has not been negotiated.

Prior to the controverey over the petroleum laws, which has recently outshadowed everything else, the land distribution program was the occasion for considerable dissatisfaction on the part of foreign investors and for controverey between the government of Mexico and the United States. Complaints made against the government of Mexico are as follows: that the amount offered (the assessed valuation plus ten per cent) is too low; that there has been undue delay in administration; that in some instances Indian villages have illegally moved back upon their

lands and that nothing has been done by government officials to do justice to the owners of the lands; that large estates have been divided under state laws, without compensation; that valid concessions have been annulled; that for many years interest has not been paid on state bonds; that bonds are unacceptable for payment because they would depreciate in value and a new revolution might make them worthless.

To a member of the staff of the Research Department who studied the matter in Mexico recently, it appears that there has been great delay in the procedure; that there undoubtedly are instances of "squatters" who have been undisturbed by government officials; that the bonds do depreciate after issuance. It should also be stated that there are instances of Indian villages which are much dissatisfied with the restitution made, because of the bickerings of local politicians. Furthermore, the method of giving land for use only during the life time of the head of the family implies rather constant supervision of land holdings by the government and the maintenance of machinery for this purpose.

However, the land distribution is declared to have been an economic and political necessity, by the present revolutionary leaders. And the principle is not peculiar to Mexico. In other parts of the world, e.g., the Balkans and Ireland, tremendous land distributions have been made after concentration of ownership, in the interest of promoting the welfare of the great majority of the people.

VIII. The Question of Recognition

Formal recognition of the Obregon government was earnestly desired by Mexico and was seriously considered by the United States. Nine long notes on this subject were exchanged between the two governments during 1921-23.

Secretary Hughes proposed a treaty of amity and commerce which among other things would declare that nothing in the Constitution and laws of Mexico would be given retroactive and confiscatory effect. Such

a treaty would give the authoritative assurances desired by the United States and would automatically secure recognition. He submitted with his note the draft of such a treaty.

Minister Pani replied in successive notes that the text of the proposed treaty of amity and commerce violated Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution; that it would compromise and affront the honor, dignity and sovereignty of Mexico to secure recognition on the basis of a pledge; that the Constitution itself (Article 14) provides for non-retroactivity; that President Obregon was personally committed to the principle; that the true procedure regarding the question was to observe the actual working of the laws, and particularly the judgments of the Supreme Court on cases involving this question; that in any case the President could not sign nor the Congress ratify a treaty contrary to the Constitution; and that even if the President were to sign a treaty, Congress would not ratify it if it was in any way humiliating, or appeared like a measure forced on a small country by a powerful neighbor.

Secretary Hughes replied, pointing out that the Mexican government was in error in charging that the proposed treaty violated Article 27 of the new Constitution: "With regard to the proposed treaty of amity and commerce, I note that Mr. Pani still insists that it would be in violation of the Constitution of Mexico, but I am unable to ascertain to what provisions of the treaty Mr. Pani refers in urging this objection. The treaty was intended to do no more than to give in a binding and suitable manner the assurances which General Obregon has been willing, as Mr. Pani's quotations make evident, to give in personal interviews and letters. In my last communication, I specifically dealt with all the provisions of the proposed treaty to which Mr. Pani has called attention as involving constitutional infringement and I regret that Mr. Pani has seen fit neither to reply to these comments nor to point out any other provisions of the treaty which could be regarded as open

to any such an objection.

"I am therefore compelled to reach the conclusion that the objection to the proposed treaty is not to be found in its terms, which could readily be made to meet any objection of the sort above advanced, provided only it embodied proper assurances against confiscation in harmony with General Obregon's repeated statements. Rather, as I understand the matter, it is insisted that the signing of such a treaty would not be in harmony with the public sentiment of Mexico and that it would not be ratified by the Mexican Senate." Mr. Hughes also said: "Without the slightest disposition to question the sincerity of General Obregon's purpose in making the statements to which Mr. Pani directs repeated attention, it cannot be overlooked that no adequate governmental action has yet been taken to secure the valid titles acquired prior to May 1, 1917; that American citizens have complained, and continue to complain, that their sub-soil rights acquired prior to that date are not being respected; and that Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution is being applied retroactively, even recently, to the injury of American citizens who have been deprived of their property without just compensation. Although General Obregon's personal promises are declared by Mr. Pani to be a 'voluntary and solemn obligation' undertaken 'before the entire world', still it is a notorious fact which can be substantiated by numerous cases, if necessary, that American interests in Mexico have been subjected to arbitrary governmental acts throughout the year and a half of General Obregon's regime in flagrant disregard of this solemn promise."

Minister Pani in two long notes interpreting Mexican history and agrarian conditions, acknowledged that many of the specifications were correct but declared that wrongs would be righted.

A passage from the note sent by Mr. Pani to the American Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Summerlin, is illuminating at this point. Speaking of

the difficulties involved in the agrarian program he said: "It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that, of all the tendencies which manifested themselves on the breaking out of the last revolutionary movement, the recovery of lands - as set out in the Decree of January 6, 1915, which provides the necessary measures for the restoration of commons and communal properties - should have been the most persistent and vigorous, maintaining always alight the torch of the rebellion and bearing its radical and revolutionary impulse beyond the period of armed struggle, to the time that the present government was enabled to moderate that impulse and, by means of the recent reorganization of the agrarian commissions and an adequate regulation, to give it a bent toward legality."

Thus it appears that Mr. Hani did not contest the major contentions of Mr. Hughes. He proposed in the very first note, and afterward repeatedly, the establishment of joint claims commissions, as a substitute for the treaty proposal. He also contended that in spite of the charges against Mexican laws and the fears felt by oil men, the production of oil which, he stated, had increased from 55,292,000 barrels in 1917 to 182,278,000 barrels in 1922, had quite refuted the charges of interference with the industry and removed the ground of the fears entertained by oil interests.

The correspondence here reviewed dealt also with certain decisions of the Mexican Supreme Court, which are described in the following section.

IX. The Amparo Cases

The now famous amparo (injunction) cases were decided in 1921-1922 by the Mexican Supreme Court. In Mexican law five amparos of an identical character constitute a "precedent", and the Mexican government has dwelt heavily upon the amparo decision handed down in October, 1920, in the Texas Oil Company case, and supplemented by four subsequent

decisions of identical import, declaring that Article 27 of the Constitution was not retroactive -- did not affect rights acquired prior to May 1, 1917. The Supreme Court decided that where "positive acts" had been performed and rights had thus been "acquired" before the Constitution went into full effect, the properties were exempt from the operation of Article 27. The Court therefore decided the cases at bar in favor of the oil company and against the government.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the court called attention to the wording of Article 14 of the Constitution: "No law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." The Court pointed out that this provision relates not to the passing of laws but to their interpretation, thus standing in sharp contrast to the old Constitution which stated that no retroactive law should be enacted.

It must be said with reference to these amparo decisions that while they constitute a "precedent", this precedent is binding only upon the lower courts. The oil companies had no judicial warrant that the government would not in the future act again in a manner contrary to the principle thus laid down. Furthermore, the very fact that the government had in the cases in question pursued a course which the Supreme Court restrained as unconstitutional gave an impression of intent to pursue as aggressive a policy as possible.

In any case, the oil companies contended, with the support of the State Department, that the amparo decisions were inadequate because, since the security given was conditioned by the previous performance of a positive act they amounted to a conversion of a fee title into a mere "concession".

X. The United States-Mexican Commission of 1923

Correspondence having failed, the two governments next resorted to a commission, each appointing two representatives, for the dis-

cussion of their differences. They met in Mexico City (May 14 - August 15, 1923) in nineteen sessions. The entire ground was traversed again at great length.

Agreements were reached regarding the terms of a General Claims Convention and of a Special Claims Convention, in the event the two governments should decide to establish commissions to deal with such claims. These conventions were accepted and signed September 8 and September 10, 1923, and provided that all claims of American citizens on account of injuries or wrongs due to the revolution should be settled by the Special Claims Commission, and that all other claims of citizens of either country against the other should be ~~settled~~ settled by the General Claims Commission.

On August 2, 1923, the Mexican commissioners made their final statement, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Mexican commissioners agreed that Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 is not retroactive in its effect for persons holding oil lands who have performed some "positive act" before May 1, 1917, such as drilling, leasing, making contracts, etc., etc. The "positive act" doctrine is an essential part of the Mexican position. It means that a right to exploit subsoil wealth gains effectiveness in law only when it has been validated, so to speak, by an actual beginning of operations. The performance of a positive act is equivalent to the acceptance of a gift, which, but for definite appropriation, would remain unconsummated. The positive acts listed in the memorandum as acceptable are numerous and varied and define a liberal policy in this regard.

In this connection the Mexican commissioners expressly agreed that the amparo cases above referred to would be treated as a precedent by the Executive of the Republic, and that it should apply to "all those owners or lessees of land or subsoil or other persons entitled to the

rights to the oil who are in a similar situation as those who obtained amparo."

(2) They also stated that the owners of the surface who have not performed some "positive act" will be granted "preferential rights" to the oil in the subsoil over any third party who has no title to the surface.

(3) The Mexican commissioners reserved to the Mexican government its rights regarding oil lands where no positive acts have been performed and also recognize the right of the American government to make reservations in behalf of its citizens, under the principles of international law and equity.

The total result of that conference seems to be that each side stated its views and made certain reservations, and recognized the right of each government to make reservations regarding their respective rights. These reservations involved frankly contrary viewpoints and assumptions.

The report of the American commissioners may be regarded as having been fairly satisfactory to the Secretary of State for the Obregon government was "recognized" by the United States on August 31, 1925.

XI. The Oil Law of 1925

In order to make clear the significance of the new oil law the history of legislation and policy with reference to subsoil wealth must be referred to. One of the chief elements in the controversy turns on the interpretation of these laws.

From the earliest times under the Spanish law metalliferous mineral deposits were considered the property of the crown. They remain today in Mexico the property of the nation. Originally, such deposits were the only ones recognized as having commercial value. However, the Mexican government now makes much of the crown decree of 1783, which

expressly included bituminous substances and the "juices of the earth" among the properties the ownership of which was vested in the crown.

On the other hand, the oil companies point out that decrees dating from 1789 to 1792 distinguish coal from the metalliferous deposits which were the property of the crown and make coal "free" -- that is, give it to the owners of the surface. Provision for expropriation of private owners was made, but only upon indemnization. This seems to establish the fact that the tradition of state ownership of all sub-soil properties was broken in Spanish law as early as 1789.

But at once the question arises, can these Spanish decrees be held operative for Mexico? In 1832, the Mexican Supreme Court declared they were not and permitted persons other than surface owners to "denounce" (lay claim to) petroleum lying under privately owned lands. This decision, however, was short lived, since a constitutional amendment was regularly adopted in 1835 empowering the federal government to enact mining laws. Pursuant to this amendment a new law was promulgated in 1834, which was reaffirmed and supplemented by the laws of 1892 and 1909, definitely giving to the owner of the surface proprietorship in and the right to exploit bituminous deposits in the subsoil.

It is admitted that Article 27 of the Constitution completely reverses the policy of the nation with reference to petroleum which has been in force ever since that commodity began to be commercially exploited. The position of the Mexican government is that Article 27 merely reenacted the old law which had been set aside by the acts of 1834, 1892 and 1909 which, the government contends, never had the moral sanction that the present law has. Hence, it asserts, what appears to be confiscation is in reality only an annulment of claims that should not have been allowed in the first place and this annulment is made in such a way, the Mexican government contends, as to work no

actual injury to the holders of these claims.

The Petroleum Law enacted in December, 1925, contained among other provisions the following:

(1) Ownership of petroleum and all hydro-carbons is vested in the nation and is inalienable. Works of development can be carried out only under concessions granted by the Government under specific laws.

(2) The petroleum industry is a "public utility" and takes precedence of use of the surface.

(3) A "concession" is limited to thirty years.

(4) All concessionaires shall pay indemnities to the government; in case the concessionaire is not the owner of the surface, he shall also pay 5 per cent of the gross production to such owner.

(5) Owners of the surface who are developing oil resources under the laws of 1884, 1892 and 1909 without concessions shall apply for concessions by December 31, 1926. Failure to apply for such concessions will be regarded as renunciation of all claims and rights.

(6) These concessions will be granted, free of cost, to surface owners who began development before May 1, 1917, and also to surface owners or their successors who made "contracts" for such development before that date.

(7) "Confirmation of these rights" shall be for 50 years.

XII. The Alien Land Law of 1926

The law first restates the provision of the Constitution quoted above, that "no alien shall acquire direct ownership of lands or waters in a strip of one hundred kilometers along frontiers and of fifty on coasts nor be a shareholder in Mexican companies which may acquire such ownership in the same strip." This law evidently deals with surface ownership, not with subsoil rights.

Alien members of Mexican companies holding land or conducting mining or petroleum enterprises must agree to consider themselves as

Mexican citizens regarding the ownership of the property and undertake "not to invoke ... the protection of their governments" in regard to such property. This is the "Calvo clause."

Aliens holding property acquired before May 1, 1917, shall retain their ownership till death; in case of corporations, ten years. Aliens inheriting property in this forbidden zone must dispose of such property within five years.

To secure these rights the aliens concerned must register their claims by January 21, 1927. Special provisions are made regarding aliens admitted as colonists.

Regulations for the administration of this law were issued on March 29, 1926. In spite of the rather sharp limitations contained in the law Article 18 of the regulations repeats the familiar assurance that "none of the provisions of this law or of these regulations will have retroactive effect to the prejudice of anyone."

XIII. Renewed Discussion Between the Two Governments, 1926

When the preliminary drafts of the petroleum and land laws described above were reported to the Department of State in the fall of 1925, the Department at once took the position that they did not embody the assurances which our government believed had been given by the Mexican commissioners in 1923. A fresh exchange of notes, nine in all, took place between November, 1925, and March, 1926, and a second group of four notes between July 31, and November 17, 1926.

The four notes, released on November 24, 1926, are phrased in the highly technical terms of law and diplomacy and are not easy reading for a layman. Here we seek to give merely the briefest and simplest possible non-technical summary of the principal points raised and the positions taken.

XIV. Secretary Kellogg's Note of July 31, 1926

Secretary Kellogg presents first of all four fundamental principles

on which he understands the two governments are agreed. They read as follows:

"First. Lawfully vested rights of property of every description are to be respected and preserved in conformity with the recognized principles of international law and equity.

"Second. The general understanding reached by the commissioners of the two countries in 1923, and approved by both governments at the time of resumption of diplomatic relations between them, stands unmodified and its binding force is recognized.

"Third. The principle of international law that it is both the right and the duty of a government to protect its citizens against any invasion of their rights of person or property by a foreign government, and that this right may not be contracted away by the individual, is conceded.

"Fourth. The principle that vested rights may not be impaired by legislation retroactive in character or confiscatory in effect is not disputed."

Mr. Kellogg then states that "the differences between us arise wholly from the practical interpretation and specific application of these general conceptions to the existing situation." He contends that the Mexican attitude and intentions "are calculated to defeat the legitimate expectations" based on these principles.

Mr. Kellogg contends that the Mexican government is really proposing to convert unqualified ownership into ownership for a term of years, which is virtually confiscation. The Mexican doctrine of "positive acts" as required to change an "optional" into an "actual" right he rejects. He rejects also the principle enunciated in the Calvo clause maintaining that the American government can never recognize the right of a national to renounce the protection of his government. He also restates the American position that the understandings

arrived at in 1923 preceding recognition were morally binding.

XV. Further Diplomatic Exchanges

In his reply to this note and in subsequent communications Minister Saenz restated Mexican contentions which were already familiar, controverting the major positions set forth above. A tone of sharpness was given to the discussion by his resentment of diplomatic interference with reference to proposed Mexican legislation.

Mr. Saenz also recurred to the distinction between the "actual" and "acquired" rights which has assumed much importance in the whole controversy. An illustration will make this position plain. If an American citizen acquired, prior to May 1, 1917, a fee title to property for the purpose of exploiting petroleum and if a positive act had been performed or a contract entered into for the exploitation of petroleum prior to that date, his right is recognized. However, this right extends only to the "confirmation" of a concession not to exceed 50 years in its total duration. If, however, the property had been acquired for purposes of domicile or other use not involving the exploitation of subsoil properties the individual is not considered to have acquired any right whatever to such properties. Thus according to the Mexican position the nationalization of petroleum properties represents a new national policy but the Mexican government does not admit that any real rights are impaired thereby.

The correspondence closes with the declaration on the part of the American State Department that this government "expects the government of Mexico ... to respect in their entirety the acquired property rights of American citizens. ..."; and an answering statement on the part of the Mexican government that it expects the United States to "indicate concrete cases" in which rights have actually been violated.

XVI. The Attitude of the Oil Companies

The question to what extent the oil companies have complied with

the provisions of the oil law has been greatly confused by the fact that the mere listing of those companies who have applied for confirmatory concessions gives no idea of the extent of the oil operations involved and by the further fact that some companies applied for concessions and afterward asked the privilege of withdrawing their applications. Statistics believed to be reliable show that the companies that are at this time resisting the government's oil policy represent about 75 per cent of the oil production in Mexico which in 1926 totalled 90,600,000 barrels. The two principal British companies are included in this number.

The protesting companies contend:

1. That applications for confirmatory concessions would mean definite and final acceptance on their part of the government's policy which they consider confiscatory.

2. That the text of the petroleum law makes it clear that no concession whatever may be given to a foreign corporation and that therefore the concessions which the Mexican government now proposes to give, under the terms of the Alien Land Law, to foreign corporations who register their holdings and file applications for concessions have no standing in law. The oil people contend that what the government proposes is altogether extra-legal -- an administrative device without warrant in either the land law or the petroleum law, and gives the foreigner no assurance of justice in the future.

3. That the fifty year concession would run from the time when the first positive act looking toward exploitation took place - in some cases many years ago - would in some cases be quite insufficient for the removal of the oil. The government has, to be sure, volunteered a thirty year extension, but here again there is no such provision in the law and no assurance that such extra-legal concession would not be revoked.

XVII. Legality of Titles

Much is said concerning the illegality of titles to land and oil properties held or claimed by foreigners in Mexico. It is safe to say that in a country where land was held by families and communities, revolutions have been frequent, where corruption in government has been a major national problem, and where the courts have too generally been subservient to the executive power, many titles are less than flawless. It seems clear, however, that the major holdings of oil lands over which the present controversy has arisen are based upon relatively sound titles under the laws of 1884, 1892 and 1909.

XVIII. Appeals to International Law

The interpretation of international law with reference to this land and oil dispute is a much controverted question. The oil companies contend that no nation has a right under international law to enact confiscatory laws of the sort complained of in Mexico. The Mexican government replies that their laws are without intent to confiscate but that if there is any confiscation, the claimant has but to prove the concrete case in the courts, and if justice should be denied, there is still the diplomatic alternative. (In spite of the Calvo clause, the Mexican government in the correspondence here reviewed has made repeated reference to the diplomatic alternative.)

Here, however, is the nub of the matter. The oil companies want the American government to secure by diplomatic means a change in the petroleum policy of Mexico so that they may continue to hold in fee simple the oil lands acquired before May 1, 1927, as provided by the laws of 1884, 1892 and 1909. The Mexican government maintains that it has the right under international law to change its laws in any way it chooses. In case any foreigners think they have suffered injury thereby, it is prepared to refer any such case to the Special Claims Commission and to pay such damages as may be assessed. The oil companies deny the right of Mexico under international law to enact such

laws in so far as the rights of foreigners are involved. They have appealed directly to the Department of State to secure redress for what they contend is a violation of international law. The Department of State has taken up and pressed their claims in the generalized form and has sought to secure a change of policy by the Mexican government. The Mexican government has not yielded.

Such is the impasse in the relations of the two governments. The oil companies are emphatic in declaring that they do not want war. War would involve grave hazard to their properties. At the same time they have elected to rest their case entirely upon diplomatic action, which might at any moment mean a lifting of the arms embargo with all the possibilities which that entails. The most probable result would of course, be counter-revolution, which, it is freely predicted, would result in a complete reversal of Mexican policy.

XIX. Decision Regarding the Calvo Clause

The General Claims Commission on March 31, 1926, gave a decision in the case of the North American Dredging Company of Texas which while it is not binding upon the courts lays down certain important principles with reference to the Calvo clause. This principle came before the Commission by virtue of the fact that the contract in question, which was negotiated in 1912 long before the adoption of the new Constitution, included a clause precluding "the intervention of foreign diplomatic agents ... in any matter related to this contract." The government was a party to the contract.

As to the grounds for insisting upon the Calvo principle the decision says: "The Commission appreciates the legitimate desire on the part of nations to deal with persons and property within their respective jurisdictions according to their own laws and to apply remedies provided by their own authorities and tribunals, which laws and remedies in no wise restrict or limit their international obligations, or restrict

or limit or in any wise impinge upon the correlative rights of other nations protected under rules of international law."

As to the validity of the principle the decision says: "The Calvo clause is neither upheld by all outstanding international authorities and by the soundest among international awards nor is it universally rejected. ... The present stage of international law imposes upon every international tribunal the solemn duty of seeking for a proper and adequate balance between the sovereign right of national jurisdiction, on the one hand, and the sovereign right of national protection of citizens on the other. No international tribunal should or may evade the task of finding such limitations of both rights as will render them compatible within the general rules and principles of international law. By merely ignoring world-wide abuses either of the right of national protection or of the right of national jurisdiction no solution compatible with the requirements of modern international law can be reached....

"It is quite possible to recognize as valid some forms of waiving the right of foreign protection without thereby recognizing as valid and lawful every form of doing so....

"There was a time when governments and not individuals decided if a man was allowed to change his nationality or his residence, and when even if he had changed either of them his government sought to lay burdens on him for having done so. To acknowledge that under the existing laws of progressive, enlightened civilization a person may voluntarily expatriate himself but that short of expatriation he may not by contract, in what he conceives to be his own interest, to any extent loosen the ties which bind him to his country is neither consistent with the facts of modern international intercourse nor with corresponding developments in the field of international law and does not tend to promote

good will among nations."

However, the Commission declared that "there exists no international rule prohibiting the sovereign right of a nation to protect its citizens abroad from being subject to any limitation whatsoever under any circumstances." The purpose of such a limitation of the rights of aliens is "to prevent abuses of the right to protection, not to destroy the right itself, -- abuses which are intolerable to any self-respecting nation and are prolific breeders of international friction." This statement is elaborated in a long paragraph which seems to warrant quotation in full: "If it were necessary to demonstrate how legitimate are the fears of certain nations with respect to abuses of the right of protection and how seriously the sovereignty of those nations within their own boundaries would be impaired if some extreme conceptions of this right were recognized and enforced, the present case would furnish an illuminating example. The claimant, after having solemnly promised in writing that it would not ignore the local laws, remedies, and authorities, behaved from the very beginning as if article 18 of its contract had no existence in fact. It used the article to procure the contract, but this was the extent of its use. It has never sought any redress by application to the local authorities and remedies which article 18 liberally granted it and which, according to Mexican law, are available to it, even against the government, without restrictions, both in matter of civil and of public law. It has gone so far as to declare itself freed from its contract obligations by its ipse dixit instead of having resort to the local tribunals to construe its contract and its rights thereunder. And it has gone so far as to declare that it was not bound by article 7 of the contract and to forcibly remove a dredge to which, under that article, the government of Mexico

considered itself entitled as security for the proper fulfillment of its contract with claimant. While its behavior during the spring and summer of 1914, the latter part of the Huerta administration, may be in part explained by the unhappy conditions of friction then existing between the two countries in connection with the military occupation of Vera Cruz by the United States, this explanation cannot be extended from the year 1917 to the date of the filing of its claim before this Commission, during all of which time it has ignored the open doors of Mexican tribunals. The record before this Commission strongly suggests that the claimant used article 18 to procure the contract with no intention of ever observing its provisions."

In general, however, the matter comes down to this: The Commission declared that "whenever such a provision is so phrased as to seek to preclude a government from intervening, diplomatically or otherwise, to protect its citizen whose rights of any nature have been invaded by another Government in violation of the rules and principles of international law, the Commission will have no hesitation in pronouncing the provision void."

XX. The Question of Arbitration

When the discussion became highly acute in January, 1927, the question was asked of President Calles by an American group then in Mexico if he would be willing to have the oil dispute settled by arbitration. He stated that in principle he would be willing to submit it to this method. Within a short time Washington was flooded with letters demanding arbitration. Secretary Kellogg himself publicly declared that he had been considering its practicability and thought it essentially desirable. On January 25, 1927, the Robinson Resolution favoring the settlement of the dispute by arbitration passed the Senate unanimously (79 to 0). A few days later, however, President Coolidge let it be known that in

his judgment there was nothing to arbitrate. The issue was simply the confiscation of American owned property by the Mexican government.

Even when the question is so stated, however, at least one prominent attorney for the oil interests has declared his readiness to have the whole question arbitrated -- that is to submit to an international tribunal the question of Mexico's right to enact her recent legislation. But, of course, Mexico is not ready to arbitrate her own laws or her Constitution. President Calles has let it be known that he would consider such a proceeding a compromise of Mexican sovereignty. In other words he says to the United States what our State Department recently said to the Italian government with reference to the latter's protest over the operation of the Volstead Act: "The United States government cannot well discuss the legality, in an international sense, of the operation of an act of Congress the scope of which, within the territorial limits of the United States, has been authoritatively determined by the Supreme Court of the United States. While, therefore, the Department of State is not indisposed to give consideration in a friendly spirit to views such as those expressed in the memorandum of the Royal Italian Embassy with respect to the operation of the act on vessels of foreign governments, the Department could not accept any suggestion questioning the competency of the Congress to enact such legislation."

The only method for which there is any precedent in international law, of bringing the present dispute to arbitration is to submit for settlement each individual claim as it arises. This kind of arbitration, however, the oil companies do not wish. Such a settlement would not, as they see it, constitute redress. It is manifestly impossible to know exactly what values their oil lands may have without actually extracting the oil. What they wish is security in their business, not

the prospect of damages, which may be granted them as a result of long and costly litigation or of the uncertain compromises of arbitration. What they therefore demand is that Mexico shall abandon its nationalizing policy as declared in the Constitution.

XXI. Some Psychological Factors.

Before setting down general conclusions of this summary it seems proper to take note of certain factors which, while not directly bearing upon the controversy, inevitably effect the attitude of Mexico and of the Mexican people toward the United States. There is a century of unfortunate history which furnishes the psychological background of Mexico's attitude and policy toward this country.

Among the events making up this record may be enumerated the activities of certain Americans, whether justified or not, which resulted in the revolt of Texas and its recognition by Congress as an independent state and its annexation in 1845 to the United States; the Mexican War (1846-1848), during which the capital of Mexico was captured and at the end of which, by the terms of a dictated peace, New Mexico and Upper California were ceded by purchase to the United States; American pressure (1865) on Napoleon III, which led to the withdrawal of French troops from Mexico and the downfall of Emperor Maximilian and his regime in 1867; American "intervention" in 1914, when marines seized Vera Cruz and held it for many months; mobilization in 1916 of 104,000 American troops on the Mexican frontier; the punitive expedition under General Pershing against Villa.

This series of events created a background against which Mexicans view what they regard as an aggressive policy on the part of the United States government and, in particular, the economic penetration of Mexico by American capital. These considerations make the present situation vastly more difficult. They require that for permanent peace and harmony

between the two nations the United States must be prepared to convince Mexico that her northern neighbor has no unfriendly designs upon her and that the policy of the United States is dictated by considerations of justice without any ulterior purpose.

General Conclusions

There are four principal items in the controversy.

(1) The question of retroactivity and confiscation.

It is admitted by the Mexican government that the provisions of the new Constitution for the restoration of the communal lands have been applied retroactively in a way prejudicial to legitimately acquired rights. The contention of the Mexican government in this connection is that the net result of the land policy has been greatly beneficial from a social point of view and that the evils incident to its adoption are being mitigated and remedied as rapidly as possible.

The question whether the new land and oil laws are retroactive, which is the principal point in controversy, scarcely admits of any other than an affirmative answer. They can be regarded as non-confiscatory only on the theory that apparent rights which seem to be infringed are not real and valid rights but rather in the nature of revocable privileges and that, where recognized rights have been technically infringed, no wrong has been done because of the granting of liberal concessions in lieu of inalienable titles.

That such an interpretation of rights and the infringement of rights is incompatible with the common understanding of these terms would almost go without saying. But, to the contention that the oil and land laws are being retroactively applied contrary to the repeated assurances of the Mexican Executive, the Mexican government replies that it will be time to raise such a question when it appears that actual

loss has been incurred by American interests for which the Mexican courts provide no redress. Obviously, the last word cannot be spoken on this point until the present court proceedings have been terminated.

(2) The question of renunciation of the right to diplomatic protection.

The Calvo clause in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution requiring aliens to assume the status of Mexicans with reference to their property rights and to renounce the privilege of appeal to their governments to secure protection with respect to them is a radical departure from prevailing procedure in international law. Although this principle has been adopted through many decades by Latin-American nations for the laudable purpose of giving foreigners only the same rights that citizens enjoy and thus of preventing the acquisition of privileges which rest upon superior strength of foreign governments, its general application would undoubtedly seriously alter the status of property rights held by citizens of one country in another country where political and economic stability has not reached a high point.

Not only so, but the Calvo principle does obvious violence to the prevailing theory that the state, as well as its citizens, is injured in every act of violence which is done to its nationals in foreign countries. The same question is raised when missionaries in the interest of national goodwill ask the privilege of renouncing the protection of their governments in order that they may take what risks they think best and assume sole responsibility for the consequences.

The principle invoked by the Calvo clause has therefore been obvious advantages and disadvantages. The point here is merely that it presents a distinct departure from the accepted principles of international law. The present and customary procedure with reference to

the infringement of property rights claimed by the nationals of one country under the jurisdiction of a foreign government is to require, unless the denial of justice is too patent to admit of discussion, that the individuals presenting the claims shall exhaust the possibilities of securing justice in the courts of the nation in question and shall appeal for diplomatic protection only when these processes have failed. In the present controversy both the State Department and the oil companies have considered the denial of justice sufficiently plain to warrant immediate recourse to the diplomatic alternative.

While the decision of the General Claims Commission, treated at length in this review, regarding the Calvo clause is inconclusive and is considered unsatisfactory from the American point of view, it seems to make clear that the Calvo clause in the Mexican Constitution will never be taken as effectually preventing foreign governments from intervening in defense of the property rights of their nationals.

(3) The question of conditional or unconditional recognition.

This element in the controversy seems to be mainly of psychological significance. From a practical point of view it is clear that recognition of the Obregon government was withheld by the American government until discussions of the commissioners of the two governments in 1923 had issued in what the State Department regarded as a satisfactory result. Had not the State Department believed that the rights of American citizens would be safeguarded recognition would not have followed.

One cannot read the correspondence without being impressed by the great importance from the Mexican point of view of maintaining the principle of national sovereignty and the dignity of the Mexican government. It is therefore in point to note that recognition in the diplomatic sense is regarded as an absolute proceeding. No government

would ask another to accept a conditional recognition. Relations between the two countries may be broken off but the granting of recognition is not understood to be a conditional proceeding.

But this is only a partial statement of the case. It is to be remembered that the American government tried for a long time through a laborious correspondence to secure a treaty of amity and commerce with Mexico prior to extending formal recognition, and failing in that purpose substituted the method of informal conference for the more satisfactory method of a permanent treaty. While the results arrived at by these conferences did not formally bind future Mexican governments, it is difficult to see how any administration which might violate its own statements of policy could escape the moral consequences of such violation.

Admittedly, the Mexican policy has been continuous from Carranza to Calles. The diplomatic record discloses a series of assurances with which it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile some of the provisions of the petroleum and land laws. The Mexican government has given itself extraordinarily wide latitude with reference to the precedents which it engaged to follow. Clearly, if this course had been foreseen in 1923 by the American government recognition would not have been accorded. Whether it should have been accorded or not we are not here considering. The question is solely one of good faith.

(4) The fundamental issue.

The fundamental question, however, is not on the merits of the policy of the Mexican government, but on the alternatives open to the American interests involved and to the American government. In the absence of any adequate machinery and processes of international government, each nation maintains a sovereign right to legislate as it will with reference to its domestic affairs. The vital question is not whether

Mexico is doing right or wrong but how America shall meet the situation which the Mexican policy has created. Confiscatory legislation is hard to define. There is no agreement in America as to whether some of the legislative acts of our own states are confiscatory or a legitimate exercise of police power. Probably no national government has consistently avoided confiscation of alien property throughout its history.

This being the case, no government can be the keeper of another's conscience. Each nation today, America included, demands the right to be the judge of its own domestic acts. International law provides no redress save claims for damages done.

The moral issue, therefore is this: How far may a government properly go in securing by diplomatic pressure what ~~that~~ there is no international machinery for securing by legal process? The right and duty of a government to protect the property of its nationals is universally recognized. But beyond guaranteeing them equal treatment with the nationals of other nations, international law provides no sanctions. Here, too, each nation is a law unto itself. It may have recourse to intervention or the manipulation of an arms embargo or even to open war, but these are the instruments of force, not of law or morals.

FILING DEPT.

APR 8 1927

SECRETARIES

April 7, 1927
(Dictated ~~April~~ 5)

Rev. F. Ernest Johnson,
105 East 22nd Street
New York City

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Your note of March 31st with the re-draft of the statement on Mexico was received and I took it with me to the meeting of the Committee on Policy today at the Aldine Association with the impression that there was to be some conference on the subject after the meeting of the Committee on Policy. I judge that I misunderstood the arrangements however, and I was obliged to come away just after the clock had struck two to attend another conference.

As I look over the statement it seems to be almost entirely the setting forth of facts and my knowledge of the facts is not detailed enough to enable me to offer any comment or criticism.

I judge that you have intentionally omitted any consideration of the religious and educational problems, or of the property problems as they effect the missionary enterprise. And yet I should have supposed that many people would have looked to the Federal Council on these issues rather than on the commercial and economic questions, or the oil and land controversy. At the same time I think that such a statement would have been a far more difficult one to make and perhaps it is neither necessary nor expedient at this time to undertake it.

Very cordially yours,

RFS/B

S. L. Gulick
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
105 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

FILING DEPT.

MAR 17 1927

MEMORANDUM

SECRETARIES

DATE February 19, 1927

FROM S. L. Gulick TO Rev. Robt. E. Speer

Attached is the manuscript on Mexico which will be considered at the meeting referred to in my letter of February 15, which will be held in Room 33, at 3:00 on February 25.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN OIL AND LAND CONTROVERSY

FILING DEPT.

MAR 17 1927

SECRETARIES

Foreword

This is an informational document. In preparing it an earnest effort has been made to discover the relevant facts and to clarify the issues with reference to the present relations between the United States and Mexico, and between the United States and Nicaragua. The purpose of the document is to supply a basis for an understanding of these important matters and for the formation of moral judgments.

The present Mexican-American situation involves and illustrates certain general principles regarding the problems of international relations and of war and peace, concerning which the churches should have clear convictions and grave concern. Not, however, until they are adequately informed regarding the exact nature of the issues involved are they competent to express definite opinions or advocate definite policies.

The purpose of this report is to present a condensed sketch of the background out of which the present situation has arisen and an accurate though brief resume of the issues in controversy.

I. The Historical Background

In order to grasp the real significance of the disturbed situation in Mexico, one needs to know first of all certain facts in Mexican history.

The conquest of Mexico by Cortez imposed on the Indian population a Spanish ruling aristocracy and hierarchy. These rulers became possessed of large estates, some covering hundreds of square miles, which in time came to be governed by relatively irresponsible and incompetent underlings. This resulted in conditions under which the native population diminished from fourteen million in the 15th century to six millions at the end of the 18th. For more than a hundred years, however, the population has been increasing and has now about reached its size of four

hundred years ago. In 1910 the listed estates or plantations were reported to number 334, owned by absentee landlords who lived mostly in the capital of Mexico or in Europe. (Hackett p. 341)

When independence from Spain was secured in 1821 the people were not prepared for self-government. Hence has come a century of revolution after revolution, with oppression, misgovernment and misery. Partisan politics, favoritism and personal ambition have been rife, with their inevitable consequences to the intellectual, social and economic life of the nation.

The ancient system of land-ownership was communal. An eminent authority* describes it thus: "From time immemorial - prior to the coming of the Spaniards, during the entire colonial period and during the national period until 1890 - the majority of the sedentary Indians of Mexico had lived in villages which had owned and had ^d administered in their own way, inalienable communal lands known as ejidos. The minimum size of an ejido came to be one square league, or approximately 4,390 acres. There was no fixed maximum size for an ejido and some villages and towns owned four square leagues of communal lands (17,560 acres), for example, Colima, with a population of approximately 25,000 persons. These Indian ejidos, prior to 1890, had constituted the principal means of support for the majority of the Indians in Mexico. They had not made for opulence, but with them the Indians had been content and self-supporting." This situation was rudely disturbed by Porfirio Diaz. On May 12, 1890, he decreed that these village communal lands, or ejidos, should be expropriated and allotted to private owners. The same authority quoted above describes this proceeding, which occupied the ensuing twenty years as "thorough-going, and in many cases unjust and even brutal." By 1910, he records that "over 90 per cent of the Indian villages on the central plateau of Mexico - the most thickly populated region in the country - had been deprived of their communal lands." †

* Citation

† Citation

Under President Diaz (1876 to 1910) the policy was adopted of "buying off political rivals", of modernizing the country through the introduction of foreign capital, and of rapid development of natural resources.

"Between 1876 and 1910, in various ways, some legal, many illegal, Diaz disposed of national domain totalling 134,547,885 acres ... more than three times the size of New England. All of this went to making new 'haciendas' or large 'haciendas' larger; none of it went to the masses. In many cases the Indians were even despoiled of their lands for the benefit of the large 'hacendados' (landlords)." (Hackett, p. 340)

"By 1910 ... over ninety per cent of the Indian villages of the central plateau ... had been deprived of their communal lands." (ejidos), and 3,103,402 Indians had become "agricultural laborers held in debt service," who with their families numbering between nine million and ten million human beings were in "a revolting state of misery and serfdom worse by far than any form of Southern slavery." The state of Morelos, for example, was owned almost entirely by twenty hacendados, on each of whom were dependent nine thousand landless peons. (Hackett, p. 341)

The Census of 1910 showed an area of 550,000 square miles owned by 6,000 persons who averaged 58,000 acres or 92 square miles each. It is estimated that over forty million acres (62,500 square miles) in Mexico have come into the hands of American owners. This is between 8 and 9 per cent of the total area of the country.

While these disastrous conditions among the native population were developing foreign investors were discovering, possessing and exploiting the natural resources of the land and were popularly represented as taking the whole of their gains out of the country and giving no heed to the needs of the people. American investments in Mexico have been variously estimated between \$1,030,000,000 (1924) by Mr. Fish of the Bankers Trust Company of New York and \$1,280,000,000 (1924) by the U. S. Department of Commerce. Of this latter sum \$478,000,000 were estimated as investments

in oil lands and refineries. Professor Hackett, however, cites official statistics given by the Mexican minister, Psani, showing that "the entire petroleum industry was capitalized at \$1,050,532,434. Of this sum 91.5% or a total of \$960,819,434 was held by the American and British interest and only 1.1 per cent was held by the Mexican interests." (p. 365) No estimates seem to be available of the amount of foreign capital actually imported into Mexico for investment.

II. Sketch of the Revolution (1910-1924)

Early in 1910 Francesco Madero Jr. published a book severely criticizing the Diaz Administration and extolling the virtues of Democracy. He was promptly imprisoned but later released. After a visit to Texas he returned to Mexico (November), assembled a small army and, with the help of General Villa, started the revolution, winning an important battle in May, 1911.

President Diaz thereupon resigned and sailed for France, where he died (July 2, 1915). Madero was elected President in October, 1911, and took office the next month. Various revolts, however, occurred, leading to much disorder. On March 2, 1912, all Americans in Mexico were warned to withdraw from Mexico, and shipment of arms to Mexican rebels was prohibited.

General Victoriano Huerta (June, 1913) took command of the Federal forces and quelled several insurgents, including General Felix Diaz (nephew of the former President) who, however, escaped and brought on a reign of terror in Mexico City during which several thousand Mexicans were killed.

General Huerta then turned against Madero, who was forced to resign (February 18, 1913) and then was killed (February 23). General Huerta became the head of the military oligarchy.

Governor Venustiano Carranza promptly opposed Huerta and led a revolt, supported by ten states, which stood for the Constitution. They fought

a sanguinary battle (May 9-12, 1913), General Obregon heading the Constitutionalists. Four years of turmoil followed. On February 4, 1914, President Wilson lifted the arms embargo thus giving all revolutionists access to munitions.

Under strong pressure from Washington, President Huerta resigned (July 15, 1914) and sailed for France. General Carranza thereupon entered Mexico City (August 20, 1914) as the "First Chief", but met with resistance, notably from Generals Villa and Zapata, resulting in continued turmoil and battles.

By the end of 1916 General Carranza was in sufficient control of the country to convene a Constitutional Convention, which sat for several weeks and promulgated the new Constitution, effective May 1, 1917, and was himself elected President (March 11, 1917).

The proposed new land law (November 2, 1917) and the oil law (January 20, 1918) in conformity with the "nationalizing" provisions of the Constitution, started the present tension between the United States Government and that of Mexico.

Dissatisfaction with the Carranza Administration led to riots (April, 1920) in Mexico City, to Carranza's withdrawal to Vera Cruz and to the occupation of Mexico City by General Obregon (May 10, 1920). In the ensuing struggle Carranza was killed (May 25). Congress thereupon elected Adolfo de la Huerta provisional President, but at the general election General Obregon was elected and inaugurated December 1, 1920.

Since the beginning of Obregon's regime conditions have remained fairly quiet. Early in 1921 General Villa made peace with Obregon but shortly thereafter was killed by political enemies (July 20, 1923).

In the general election of 1924, General Plutarco Calles, one of President Obregon's trusted followers, was elected President for four years, being inaugurated on January 1, 1925.

III. OBJECTIVES OF THE REVOLUTION

The revolution of Madero (1910) was at the start political. It was a revolt against Diaz the dictator, and his small group of advisors and supporters who constituted a "closed political corporation". "Effective suffrage; no reelection" was the slogan of the revolution. It attracted, however, but a small minority of the people and was practically a failure before the overthrow of Madero's short administration. (Hackett, p. 340)

The deeper objective of the revolution was socio-economic. It sought to remedy the condition of the masses of the people, which had become deplorable, and in fact intolerable. Madero's declaration that he wished to "restore to their former owners the lands of which they were dispossessed in such arbitrary manner" was what rallied the downtrodden masses and gave the revolution a driving force that is apparently unabated. "The masses wanted agrarian and social reform." (Hackett, p. 342)

As the revolution advanced and the ideas, objectives and programs of the leaders became more definite, the Government found itself forced to deal with several distinct sets of problems.

1. The Agrarian Problem - that of restoring agricultural land to the landless Indians and building them up as a middle class.
2. The Industrial Problem - that of protecting industrial workers from ruthless exploitation, and providing proper conditions of labor, wages, etc.
3. The Oil Problem - that of carrying into effect the "nationalizing" of subsoil mineral fuels, conserving their wealth for the nation, and the control of foreign development thereof.
4. The Educational Problem - that of giving effective and

practical education to the entire population, fitting them for ^h wholesome social, industrial, agricultural and intellectual life and for real self-government.

5. The Church Problem - that dealing with the relations of Church and State.

6. The Political Problem - that of maintaining the existence of the Government against revolutionary efforts and also that of extending its support among the people at large.

7. The International Problem - that of preventing foreign investments from becoming a form of or cause for foreign domination; and also that of requiring foreign investors to accept and obey the laws of the land.

The multiplicity, complexity and inherent difficulty of these problems has inevitably prevented immediate or even rapid solution. The more pressing problems have been taken first, such as the agrarian and industrial. The law regulating the exploitation of oil deposits was promulgated December 31, 1925, the alien land law, January 21, 1926, and the religious law, July 2, 1926.

The Constitution of 1917

The Constitution of 1917 for the most part followed that of 1857. Article 27, however, dealing with the property rights of individuals and of civil and religious corporations, was expanded to ten times its original length and contained many new provisions, among them:-

The restoration to communities of their "ejidos" (communal land reservations) taken away by laws and grants under the Diaz regime.

The establishment of new "ejidos" by expropriation (with compensation) of land from large haciendas (estates).

The revocation of the mining laws of 1884, 1892 and 1909 which

had permitted surface owners to develop petroleum deposits without securing concessions therefore from the Federal Government.

Control by the national Government of river, lake and sea waters within the national domain.

The organization and rights of stock companies and banks.

The granting of concessions to foreigners to exploit mineral and petroleum subsoil resources.

That part of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 which forms the basis of recent land and oil legislation, now under discussion reads as follows:

"Only Mexicans by birth or by naturalization, or Mexican corporations, have a right to acquire dominion over lands, waters, and their dependencies, or to obtain concessions for the exploitation of mines, water power or combustible material in the Republic of Mexico. The State may concede the same right to foreigners, providing they agree in the Department of Foreign Affairs to consider themselves as Mexicans in all that has to do with said properties, and that they will not invoke the protection of their respective governments in matters relating to these properties: with the understanding that, in case they fail to comply strictly with this agreement, they will lose their rights over the properties which they have acquired by virtue of said agreement, same passing again to the dominion of the Nation. Foreigners may not under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters which are not distant at least one hundred kilometers from a national boundary, or fifty kilometers from the Coast line."

As a result of the adoption of this Constitution the American government came into controversy with the Mexican government on four distinct grounds. It is important that the precise points in controversy be understood. The United States government took this position:

1. If the provision with reference to the restoration of the communal lands at the expense of persons who had acquired title to the lands in question should be carried out retroactively, i.e., as applied to rights acquired prior to May 1, 1917, ~~xxx~~ The American government regarded the procedure as plain confiscation of property.

2. If the provision for the complete nationalization of subsoil rights should be carried out retroactively the American government considered such procedure a violation of legitimate rights of American citizens.

3. Not only did the government of the United States regard such retroactivity as confiscation, but the State Department contended that the understandings arrived at in 1923, preceding the recognition of the Mexican government by the United States definitely excluded retroactivity with reference to the rights in question and constituted a solemn obligation as well as virtually a condition of diplomatic recognition.

4. Closely related to the above is the protest of the United States government against the provision in the Constitution that nationals of other countries must accept the status of Mexicans with respect to their property relinquishing all right, under penalty of forfeiture, to appeal to their own governments to secure for them by diplomatic action what the Mexican government does not grant them. This is the "Calvo Clause".

The Mexican government has consistently denied that Article 27 of the Constitution is retroactive with reference to aliens, but has

persisted in the position that recognition of the Mexican government by the United States was unconditional and that the understandings arrived at previously did not in any sense constitute an obligation on the part of succeeding governments, although the Mexican government insists that the Calles government has not departed in any essential way from the assurances given the American commissioners at that time. The Mexican government also continues to adhere to the Calvo Clause, although this matter has now been made the subject of a decision by the General Claims Commission, which will be referred to later.

The heart of the controversy is over the question of retroactivity. The American government demands assurances on this point of a definite and permanent sort, and is not satisfied with declarations of the executive or past decisions of the Mexican courts. The reason for this attitude will appear presently.

V. The Agrarian Reforms

The fact that many Indian villages had been deprived of their ancient communal lands during the Diaz régime - particularly through a decree issued on May 12, 1890, and consequent concessions to foreign capitalists - was one of the big factors in bringing support to the Madero Revolution of 1910. The desire of Indian villages for the return of their lands has been of great political significance ever since. Madero vaguely promised restitution of lands but nothing definite was done until Carranza issued his decree on January 6, 1915, at Vera Cruz, in which he annulled the concessions of the Diaz régime, declared that Indian villages would be allowed to petition for the return of their lands, set up a national agrarian commission and devised a procedure for a large scale redistribution of land. This procedure has been modified by regulations issued in 1920, 1921 and 1922.

In brief the procedure is as follows: The Indian villages present their claims, with such evidence as they have in the form of crude maps and records to the State Agrarian Commission. This Commission makes what is known as a provisional adjustment and passes its decision for review and final approval to the National Agrarian Commission, with headquarters in Mexico City and responsible to the

President of the Republic. The National Commission's recommendation goes to the President himself, who issues the final decree determining the title to the land. The land is given to individual farmers in the village for their use only. It may not be sold. This means that private ownership is not being established, but a title is given to an individual, and the system differs from the primitive communal scheme which has been in effect for centuries.

Figures were furnished to the Research Department of the Federal Council by the official Mayor of the National Agrarian Commission in January, 1927, indicating the extent of the land distribution. In October, 1926, there was finally restored to 1609 Indian villages a total of 2,886,531 hectares ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres to a hectare) of land to the heads of 317,112 families. A considerable number of the provisional adjustments made by the state agrarian commissions has not yet been received. In October, 1926, provisional restorations had been made to 1055 villages of 2,525,849 hectares of land to 193,104 heads of families.

Upon the issuance of the decree of the President, payment is offered to the former owners (individuals and corporations, many of whom are North Americans and other foreigners) in the form of 20 year bonds bearing 5 per cent interest with the principal payable 5 per cent annually. The amount paid is that for which the land was assessed for purposes of taxation, plus 10 per cent. Practically all of the North American owners whose lands have been involved in this distribution, have refused to accept the bonds offered and have preferred to present claims to the General Claims Commission, which sits in Mexico City and was set up after the negotiations between commissioners of the governments of Mexico and of the United States regarding the recognition of President Obregon in 1923.

The record of the conversations of the commissioners reveals that the representatives of the United States contend that indemnification should have been made in cash and not bonds (the custom in England and the United States.) It was agreed by the Commissioners representing Mexico that payment in bonds for lands expropriated was not to be a precedent and that if Mexico could negotiate a foreign loan she would use the proceeds for cash payments to those whose lands were being returned

to the Indians.

Prior to the controversy over the petroleum laws, which has recently outshaded everything else, the land distribution program was the occasion for considerable dissatisfaction on the part of foreign investors and for controversy between the governments of Mexico and ^{of} the United States. Complaints made against the Government of Mexico are as follows: that the amount offered (the assessment plus 10%) is too low; that there has been undue delay in administration; that in some instances Indian villages have illegally moved back upon their lands and that nothing has been done by government officials to do justice to the owners of the lands; that bonds are unacceptable for payment because upon issuance they depreciate in value and a new revolution might make them worthless.

To the representative of the Research Department who studied the matter in Mexico recently, it appears that there has been great delay in the procedure; that there undoubtedly are instances of "squatters" who have been undisturbed by government officials; that the bonds do depreciate after issuance. It should also be stated that there are instances of Indian villages which are much dissatisfied with the restitution made, because of the bickerings of local politicians. Finally it should be made clear that the method of giving land for use only during the life time of the head of the family implies rather constant supervision of land holdings by the Government and the maintenance of machinery for this purpose.

However, the land distribution is declared to have been an economic and political necessity, by the present revolutionary leaders. And the principle is not peculiar to Mexico. In other parts of the world, e.g. the Balkans and Ireland, tremendous land distributions have been made after concentration of ownership, in the interest of promoting the welfare of the great majority of the people.

VI. The Question of Recognition

Formal recognition of the Obregon Government was earnestly desired by Mexico and was seriously considered by the United States. Nine long notes on this subject were exchanged between the two Governments during 1921-23.

Secretary Hughes proposed a Treaty of Amity which among other things would declare that nothing in the Constitution and laws of Mexico would be given retroactive and confiscatory effect. Such a treaty would give the ^{tivo} authority assurances desired by the United States and would automatically secure recognition. He submitted with his note the draft of such a treaty.

Minister Pani replied in successive notes that the text of the proposed treaty of Amity and Commerce violated Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution; that it would compromise and affront the honor, dignity and sovereignty of Mexico to secure recognition on the basis of a pledge; that the Constitution itself (Article 14) provides for non-retroactivity; that President Obregon was personally committed to the principle; that the true procedure regarding the question was to observe the actual working of the laws, and particularly the judgments of the Supreme Court on cases involving the question; that in any case the President could not sign nor the Congress ratify a treaty contrary to the Constitution; and that even if the President were to sign a treaty Congress would not ratify it if it was in any way humiliating or appeared like a measure forced on a small country by a powerful neighbor.

Secretary Hughes replied, pointing out that the Mexican Government was in error in charging that the proposed treaty violated Article 27 of the new Constitution: "With regard to the proposed Treaty of Amity and Commerce, I note that Mr. Pani still insists that it would be in violation of the Constitution of Mexico, but I am unable to ascertain to what provisions of the treaty Mr. Pani refers in urging this objection. The treaty was intended to do no more than give in a binding and suitable manner the assurances which General Obregon has been willing, as Mr. Pani's quotations make evident, to give in personal

interviews and letters. In my last communication I specifically dealt with all the provisions of the proposed treaty to which Mr. Pani has called attention as involving constitutional infringement and I regret that Mr. Pani has seen fit neither to reply to these comments nor to point out any other provisions of the treaty which could be regarded as open to any such ~~objection~~ objection.

"I am therefore compelled to reach the conclusion that the objection to the proposed treaty is not to be found in its terms, which could readily be made to meet any objection of the sort above advanced, provided only it embodied proper assurances against confiscation in harmony with General Obregon's repeated statements. Rather, as I understand the matter, it is insisted that the signing of such a treaty would not be in harmony with the public sentiment of Mexico and that it would not be ratified by the Mexican Senate." Mr. Hughes also said: "Without the slightest disposition to question the sincerity of General Obregon's purpose in making the statements to which Mr. Pani directs repeated attention, it cannot be overlooked that no adequate governmental action has yet been taken to secure the valid titles acquired prior to May 1, 1917; that American citizens have complained, and continue to complain, that their sub-soil rights acquired prior to that date are not being respected; and that Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution (being applied ~~retroactively~~ retroactively, even recently, to the injury of American citizens who have been deprived of their property without just compensation. Although General Obregon's personal promises are declared by Mr. Pani to be a 'voluntary and solemn obligation' undertaken 'before the entire world', still it is a notorious fact which can be substantiated by numerous cases, if necessary, that American interests in Mexico have been subjected to arbitrary governmental acts throughout the year and a half of General Obregon's régime in flagrant disregard of this solemn promise."

Minister Pani in two long notes interpreting Mexican history and agrarian conditions acknowledged that many of the difficulties noted were true but declared that wrongs would be righted. He did not contest the major contentions of Mr. Hughes. He proposed in the very first note and afterward repeatedly the estab-

lishment of Joint Claims Commissions as a substitute for the treaty proposal.

He also pointed out that, in spite of the charges against Mexican laws and the fears felt by oil men, the fabulous production of oil since 1916 (from 55,292,000 barrels in 1917 to 182,276,000 barrels in 1923) had quite refuted the charges and removed the ground of the fears entertained by oil interests.

The correspondence closed without results.

VII. The United States-Mexican Commission of 1923

Correspondence having failed, the two Governments next resorted to a Commission, each appointing two representatives, for the discussion of their differences. They met in Mexico City (May 14 - August 15, 1923) in nineteen sessions. The entire ground was traversed again at great length.

Agreements were reached regarding the terms of a General Claims Commission and of a Special Claims Commission, should the two Governments decide to establish them. They were accepted and signed September 8 and September 10, 1923, and provided that all claims of American citizens on account of injuries or wrongs due to the revolution should be settled by the Special Claims Commission, and that all other claims of citizens of either country against the other should be settled by the General Claims Commission.


On August 2, 1923, the Mexican Commissioners made their final statement, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Mexican Commissioners agreed that Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 is not retroactive in its effect for persons holding oil lands who have performed some "positive act" before May 1, 1917, such as drilling, leasing, making contracts, etc. The "positive act" doctrine is an essential part of the Mexican position. It means that a right to exploit subsoil wealth gains effectiveness in law only when it has been validated, so to speak, by an actual beginning of operations. The performance of a positive act is equivalent to the acceptance of a gift, which, but for definite appropriation, would remain unconsummated.

The positive acts listed in the memorandum as acceptable are numerous and varied and define a liberal policy in this regard.

(2) They also stated that owners of the surface who have not performed some "positive act" will be granted "preferential rights" to the oil in the subsoil over any third party who has no title to the surface. This constituted a very definite concession.

(3) The Mexican Commissioners reserved to the Mexican Government



its rights regarding oil lands where no positive acts have been performed and also recognize the right of the American Government to make reservations on behalf of its citizens, under the principles of international law and equity.

The total result of that conference seems to be that each side stated its views and made certain reservations, and recognized the right of each Government to make reservations regarding their respective rights. These reservations involved frankly contrary viewpoints and as umptions, but the American commissioners considered that they received the necessary assurances as to the policy that was to be followed with reference to the interests of American nationals.

The Report of the American Commissioners may be regarded as having been fairly satisfactory to the Secretary of State for the Obregon Government was "recognized" by the United States on August 31, 1925.

VIII. The Oil Law of 1925

Under the colonial administration, from the beginning down to the time of President Diaz (1581-1876), all subsoil wealth belonged to the Crown (i.e. to the Government), not to the owners of the surface. This was the old Spanish law and practice.

Those who desired to develop subsoil resources, whether owners of the surface or others, had to secure from the Government "concessions" for such enterprises.

Clear distinction must be made between State laws and National laws regarding land ownership. State laws deal exclusively with surface ownership, while National laws deal exclusively with subsoil ownership. This important distinction is commonly overlooked and its implications not recognized. It is also important to remember that the mining laws of 1884, 1892, and 1909 authorized owners of the surface to develop without "concessions" whatever petroleum deposits they might discover, but did not change the

status of mineral deposits which, the law of 1909 expressly stated, were to continue the property ("dominio directo") of the nation. This exemption serves to emphasize the tradition of national ownership of sub-soil wealth.

The Petroleum Law of 1925 contained among other provisions the following: -

(1) Ownership of petroleum and all hydro-carbons is vested in the nation and is inalienable. Works of development can be carried out only under concessions granted by the Government under specific laws.

(2) The petroleum industry is a "public utility" and takes precedence of use of the surface.

(3) A "concession" is limited to thirty years.

(4) All concessionaires shall pay indemnities to the Government; in case the concessionaire is not the owner of the surface, he shall also pay 5% of the gross production to such owner.

(5) Owners of the surface who are developing oil resources under the laws of 1884, 1892 and 1909 without concessions shall apply for concessions by December 31, 1926. Failure to apply for such concessions will be regarded as renunciation of all claims and rights.

(6) These concessions will be granted, free of cost, to surface owners who began development before May 1, 1917, and also to surface owners or their successors who made "contracts" for such development before that date.

(7) "Confirmation of these rights" shall be for 50 years.

IX. The Alien Land Law of 1926

The law first restates the provision of the Constitution quoted above, that "no alien shall acquire direct ownership of lands or waters in a strip of one hundred kilometers along frontiers and of fifty on coasts nor be a shareholder in Mexican companies which may acquire such

ownership in the same strip." This law evidently deals with surface ownership, not with subsoil rights.

Alien members of Mexican companies holding land or conducting mining or petroleum enterprises must agree to consider themselves as Mexican citizens regarding the ownership of property and undertake "not to invoke ... the protection of their Governments" in regard to such property. This is the "Calvo clause."

Aliens holding property in the forbidden zone acquired before May 1, 1917, shall retain their ownership till death; in case of corporations, ten years. Aliens inheriting property in this forbidden zone must dispose of such property within five years.

To secure these rights the aliens concerned must register their claims by January 21, 1927. Special provisions are made regarding aliens admitted as colonists.

Regulations for the administration of this law were issued on March 29, 1926. Article 18 provides that "none of the provisions of this law or of these regulations will have retroactive effect to the prejudice of anyone."

X. Renewed Discussion Between the Two Governments, 1926

When the preliminary drafts of the petroleum and land laws described above were reported to the Department of State in the fall of 1925, it was felt that they did not embody the assurances which our Government believed had been given by the Mexican Commissioners in 1923. A fresh exchange of notes, nine in all, took place between November, 1925 and March, 1926, and a second group of four notes between July 31 and November 17, 1926.

The four notes, released on November 24, 1926, cover thirty folio pages closely typed. They are phrased in the highly technical terms of law and diplomacy and are not easy reading for a layman. Here we

seek to give merely the briefest and simplest possible non-technical summary of the principal points raised and the positions taken.

XI. Secretary Kellogg's note of July 31, 1929

Secretary Kellogg presents first of all four fundamental principles on which he understands the two governments are agreed. They read as follows:

"First. Lawfully vested rights of property of every description are to be respected and preserved in conformity with the recognized principles of international law and equity.

"Second. The general understanding reached by the Commissioners of the two countries in 1923, and approved by both governments at the time of resumption of diplomatic relations between them, stands unmodified and its binding force is recognized.

"Third. The principle of international law that it is both ^{the} right and the duty of a government to protect its citizens against any invasion of their rights of person or property by a foreign government, and that this right may not be contracted away by the individual, is conceded.

"Fourth. The principle that vested rights may not be impaired by legislation retroactive in character or confiscatory in effect is not disputed."

Mr. Kellogg then states that "the differences between us arise wholly from the practical interpretation and specific application of these general conceptions to the existing situation." He contends that the Mexican attitude and intentions "were calculated to defeat the legitimate expectations" based on these principles.

Mr. Kellogg contends that the Mexican Government is really proposing to convert unqualified ownership into ownership for a term of years, which is virtually confiscation. The Mexican doctrine of "positive acts" as required to change an "optional" into an "actual" right he rejects. He rejects also the principle enunciated in the Calvo clause maintaining that the American Government can never be recognized

that the American Government can never recognize the right of a national to renounce the protection of his government. He also restates the American position that the understandings arrived at in 1923 preceding recognition were morally binding.

XII. Further Diplomatic Controversy

In his reply to this note and in subsequent communications Minister Saenz restated Mexican contentions which were already familiar controverting the major positions set forth above. A tone of sharpness was given to the discussion by his resentment of diplomatic interference with reference to proposed Mexican legislation.

Mr. Saenz also recurred to the distinction between the "actual" and "acquired" rights which has assumed much importance in the whole controversy. An illustration will make this position plain. If an American citizen acquired, prior to May 1, 1917, title to property for the purpose of exploiting petroleum his right is recognized. If a positive act had been performed or a contract entered into for the exploitation of petroleum prior to that date his right is incontestible. However, this right extends only to the "confirmation" of a concession not to exceed 50 years in its total duration. If no positive act had been performed, as a concession to American demands, he is given preferential right as against the claims of a third party. This would be, however, an administration action and have no permanent status in law. If, however, the property had been acquired for purposes of domicile or other use not involving the exploitation of subsoil pro-

erties the individual is not considered to have acquired any right whatever to such properties. According to the Mexican position the nationalization of petroleum properties represents a new national policy but the Mexican Government does not admit that any real rights are impaired thereby.

The correspondence closes with the declaration on the part of the American State Department that this government "expects the Government of Mexico....to respect in their entirety the acquired property rights of American citizens..."; and an answering statement on the part of the Mexican Government that it expects the United States to "indicate concrete cases" in which rights have actually been violated.

XIII. Applications for Confirmatory Concessions

On January 27, 1927, the Mexican Embassy at Washington released to the press a table of statistics showing applications for confirmation of concessions up to December 31, 1926. The table showed that the total was 643 representing an acreage of 26,833,330. Of these, 323 companies had oil rights prior to May 1, 1917, with an acreage of 17,061,106.

The figures also show that companies holding 1,660,579 acres, or 5.83 per cent of the whole had not made application.

The above figures give no distinction between Mexicans and foreigners involved, nor of Americans distinguished from other foreigners.

Mr. G.B. Baker says, in the New York Evening Post (1927) that of 387 foreign oil companies owning 28,500,000 acres acquired prior to 1917 all but 22 have complied with the new law, that they hold but 6 per cent of this acreage and that one-half of this 6 per cent is the old Doheny holdings and much of the rest belongs to Secretary Mellon.

XIV. Allegations of Mexican Bolshevism

While charges of Bolshevistic influences within the Mexican government and of close relations between that government and the Russian government have no direct bearing upon this controversy it seems proper in this connection to call attention to certain facts.

Secretary Kellogg in his memorandum presented to the Senate referred to a statement of Tchicherin, Russia's foreign minister, in which he referred to the establishment in Mexico of a "base" in the new continent for cultivating relations with the United States. The significance of this quotation can not be authoritatively stated, but Mr. Walter Duranty, the Russian correspondent of the New York Times, reputed to be one of the most trustworthy observers of Russian affairs, explained this in the issue of the Times for _____ as follows:

In any case, it seems only fair to set alongside this statement by Tchicherin President Calles spirited reply to the effect that Mexico would "not tolerate any abuse of good faith" and protested against "the propagation of principles which we do not hold".

Whatever similarity may be found or imagined between the political policy and philosophy of Mexico and those of Russia it is evident that the present social, agrarian and industrial movement and trends in Mexico had their origin long before the rise of Bolshevism in Russia. Certainly no direct influence of Soviet propaganda is traceable in the development of these policies and ideas.

XV Bearing of the Nicaraguan Situation on the Mexican Controversy

Almost simultaneously with the release by the Department of State of a statement (November 24, 1926) disclosing the "grave" and "delicate" situation existing in American relations with Mexico, American intervention in Nicaragua was announced.

The fact that the United States was supporting the Conservative President Diaz and Mexico the Liberal aspirant Sacasa made it appear that our two governments were seeking to dominate Nicaragua because of their clashing interests. President Diaz charged Mexico with seeking to Bolshevize Central America.

President Coolidge's White House spokesman frankly stated on January 5, 1927, that the American policy in Nicaragua was not only to protect the lives and property of

American citizens but also to conserve the political rights and interests of the United States in the Panama Canal and the prospective Nicaragua Canal. Both of these would be threatened by Mexican ascendancy in the Central American countries.

XVI General Conclusions

1. The question of retroactivity and confiscation.

It is admitted by the Mexican government that the provisions of the new Constitution with reference to the restoration of the communal lands had been applied retroactively in a way prejudicial to legitimately acquired rights. The contention of the Mexican government in this connection is that the net result of the land policy has been greatly beneficial from a social point of view and that the evils incident to its adoption are being mitigated and remedied as rapidly as possible.

The question whether the new land and oil laws are retroactive, which is the principle point in controversy, cannot be answered with a flat yes or no. They can be regarded, however, as non-retroactive only in the sense that apparent rights which seem to be infringed are not real and valid rights but rather in the nature of revocable privileges and that, where recognized rights have been technically infringed no wrong has been done because of the granting of liberal concessions in lieu of inalienable legal rights.

That such an interpretation of rights and the infringement of rights is incompatible with the common understanding of these terms in American law would go without saying, but to the contention that the oil and land laws are being retroactively applied contrary to the repeated assurances of the Mexican Executive and to the interpretation of the new Constitution by the Supreme Court in five distinct cases of *amparo* (injunction proceedings) the Mexican Government replies that it will be time to raise such a question when it appears that actual loss has been incurred by American interests for which the Mexican courts provide no redress.

In this connection it should be noted that the State of New York (Section 80, Public Land Laws) provides that "all mines of gold and silver discovered or to be discovered" are the "property of the people of this State" and "all mines of other metals ... discovered or to be discovered, upon lands owned by persons not citizens of the United States are

also declared to be property of the people of the State" in their right of sovereignty. This and other possible illustrations raise the additional question whether even if the laws recently enacted in Mexico are adjudged retroactive they may not still have durable precedents in international law. This question is obviously a matter to be determined by arbitration or otherwise.

2. The question of renunciation of the right to diplomatic protection.

The Calvo clause in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution requiring aliens to assume the status of Mexicans with reference to their property rights and to renounce the privilege of appeal to their governments to secure protection with respect to them is a radical departure from prevailing procedure in international law. Although this principle has been repeatedly invoked by Latin-American nations for the laudable purpose of preventing the acquisition of privileges which rest upon superior strength of foreign governments, its general application would undoubtedly seriously alter the status of property rights held by citizens of one country in another country where political and economic stability has not reached a high point.

Not only so, but the Calvo principle does obvious violence to the prevailing theory that the State as well as its citizens is injured in every act of violence which is done to its nationals in foreign countries. The same question is raised when missionaries in the interest of national goodwill ask the privilege of renouncing the protection of their governments in order that they ~~xxxx~~ may take what risks they think best and ^{assume} ~~summe~~ sole responsibility for the consequences.

The principle invoked by the Calvo clause has therefore obvious advantages and disadvantages. The point here is merely that it presents a distinct departure from the accepted principles of international law. The present and customary procedure with reference to the infringement of property rights claimed by the nationals of one country under the jurisdiction of a foreign government is to require that the individuals presenting the claims shall exhaust the possibilities of securing justice in the courts of the nation in question and shall appeal for diplomatic protection only when these processes have failed.

It is important to note, however, that the General Claims Commission has already rendered a decision in the case of the American Prodding Company of Texas as claimant concerning the significance and application of the Galve clause as incorporated in the contract. It was decided that the claim in question "should be governed by those laws and remedies which Mexico had provided for the protection of its own citizens, but this provision did not and could not deprive the claimant of his American citizenship and all that implies. It did not take from him his undoubted right to apply to his own government for protection if his resort to the Mexican tribunals or other authorities available to him resulted in a delay or denial of justice as that term is used in international law."

This decision condemned any clause in a contract phrased in such a way as to "seek to preclude a government from intervening diplomatically or otherwise to protect its citizens whose rights of any nature have been invaded by another government in violation of the rules and principles of international law".

It would seem clear therefore that in this matter at least through formal arbitration by the Claims Commission the difference between the two governments has been settled in favor of the State Department's interpretation.

3. The question of conditional or unconditional recognition.

This element in the controversy seems to be mainly of psychological significance. From a practical point of view it is clear that recognition of the Obregon Government was withheld by the American Government until the lengthy correspondence and discussions which preceded it had issued in what the State Department regarded as a satisfactory result. Had not satisfactory assurances been given that what were regarded as the rights of American citizens would be safeguarded recognition would not have followed.

At the same time one cannot read the correspondence without being impressed by the great importance from the Mexican point of view of maintaining the principle of national sovereignty and the dignity of the Mexican Government. It is therefore of no small moment in the relations between the two countries both now and in the future that the "recognition" accorded the Mexican Government in 1923 was precisely what diplomatic

recognition always is, namely, an absolute proceeding, which having taken place cannot be recalled. Relations between the two countries may be broken off but the granting of recognition is in its nature an unconditional proceeding.

On the other hand, when it is remembered that the American Government tried for a long time through a laborious and, it might be said, patient correspondence to secure a treaty of amity and commerce with Mexico prior to extending formal recognition and failing in that purpose substituted the method of informal conference for the more satisfactory method of a permanent treaty, it becomes clear that the moral quality of the assurances given by the Mexican Commissioners with the sanction of the Mexican Government with respect to American interests was not other than that which inheres in a formal treaty duly signed and ratified. In other words, while the understanding arrived at as a result of these conferences did not formally bind future Mexican Governments, it is difficult to see how any administration which might violate these understandings could escape the moral consequences which follow from the abrogation of a treaty.

It does not appear, however, that there is anything in the conclusion here set down to which the present Mexican Government is ready to take exception.

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SECRETARIES

September 23, 1927

The Rev. S. M. Cavert,
105 East 22nd St.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cavert,

Your good letter of September 17th and 20th have been received.

U. Religious Book Club

With reference to the Book Club, I am still hesitant because of the considerations I suggested and also because of the time pressure. I am leaving this week, for example, to be gone for 3 weeks, and shall be back for only a day or two before starting off again. I fear I should be altogether unable to discharge the responsibilities that will be involved.

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With reference to the National Conference of Jews and Christians, I have looked up my letter of May 18th to which you refer, and find, as I thought, that my answer to Mr. Macfarland had to do with membership on the Federal Council's Committee of Goodwill. I did not know of this National Conference and of its Advisory Council until I received the letter of inquiry that led me to write to you on September 14th. Is the Federal Council's Committee still in existence, or is it absorbed in this Advisory Council and what is the constitution and what are the purposes and work of this National Conference? Is our position as evangelical Christians believing in and committed to the work of seeking to win everybody to the Christian faith and discipleship clearly recognized and acknowledged?

Very cordially yours,

M.C.

Samuel McCrea Cavert

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FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA 8/19/27

(INCORPORATED)

Northern Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ

Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Friends
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
National Council of the Protestant
Episcopal Church

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

SEP 14 1927
SECRETARIES

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

OFF

August 18, 1927

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

n. Religious Book Club.

Dear Dr. Speer:

As soon as you return to New York, I am very anxious to talk with you about a new plan in which I am personally interested for the development of a "Religious Book Club" which is designed to do in the field of religious books what the already popular Book-of-the-Month Club is doing in the realm of general literature. My special reason for wanting to see you is that I am hoping you will consent to serve as one of seven members of the "Selecting Committee" whose judgment will decide which book or books will be recommended month by month to the members of the Club.

Probably you are already familiar with the general plan under which the Book-of-the-Month Club is operated since it has been so widely advertised in all the leading magazines. Of course you will want much more full and detailed information before you give any final approval ^{to the new plan} but perhaps for the moment it will be sufficient for me to say that the proposed Religious Book Club will be carried on under the same kind of arrangements except that its interest will center wholly around publications in the field of the life and thought and work of the churches.

The plan of course has no connection with the Federal Council of the Churches since it would undoubtedly be unwise for the Council to be committed in any way to any responsibility for the selection of the books. The plan is rather to be directed entirely by an independent organization known as the Religious Book Club of which a personal friend of mine who is one of the leading printers in New York and who has very important contacts with publishing interests will be the business head. My own connection with it, and the connection of the members of the Selecting Committee, will be confined entirely to the recommendation of the particular books which are to be sent out to its constituency.

The other persons who are being invited to become members of the Selecting Committee are: Rev. S. Parkes Cadman, Bishop Charles H. Brent, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President Mary E. Woolley, Professor William Lyon Phelps and Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick. Perhaps I should add that the remuneration which the members of the Selecting Committee will receive will have to consist chiefly in their sense of satisfaction in helping to stimu-

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late the wide reading of the most important religious books. I understand, however, from the organizer of the plan that he would feel prepared at the outset to give ~~not more than~~ a very modest honorarium, not to exceed \$500 a year, to each of the members of the Selecting Committee.

The members of the Selecting Committee would be expected to make the final decision as to the books to be recommended and for this purpose it might be necessary for them to meet at luncheon once a month. Most of the preliminary work, however, of sorting out the three or four most significant volumes ~~of~~ the great mass of publications which the publishers would send to us I should expect to do myself. In this way I should expect that the labor of reading which you would have to do would not be very arduous and would doubtless be only such as you would be doing anyway in the normal course of your keeping in touch with the most important religious books as they appear.

I enclose herewith a brief memorandum which gives more information about the general plan.

It is hoped that the Religious Book Club may be announced in October and its work definitely begun in November. It is rather important therefore to have the membership of the Selecting Committee decided as soon as possible. If you feel that you could give at least a provisional acceptance at this time, contingent upon a final ratification when you had the opportunity of talking the matter over after you return to New York, I should be very glad.

Very sincerely yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert

Samuel McCrea Cavert

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The Religious Book Club

A Service New and Unique

I. What It Will Do for You

Every month the best new book in the religious field will be delivered at your door by the postman. As simple, and as regular as the arrival of your favorite magazine.

This "best new book" will be one which nobody who cares to keep in touch with the forward movements of religious thought and life can afford to miss. It will have been selected by the critical judgment of seven of the most distinguished leaders in the American churches.

You will thus be able to keep abreast of the most significant thinking on religion and the Church, in their relation to the throbbing human issues of daily life. No longer, when you hear some remarkable new book discussed, will you have to confess that you have not read it but "intend to by and by when you get around to it."

You will have the great literary achievements of the religious world on your table for your prompt study as soon as they come from press. No longer will careless delay or oversight or the pressure of the day's routine make you miss the things which would be most educative and inspiring.

If you live in the country or a small town where there are no large bookstores and where it is consequently difficult to get the best publications as they appear, the Religious Book Club will be of still further advantage to you. It will place in your hands from month to month the best that the greatest bookshop in New York or Boston can offer you.

Wherever you live, membership in the Religious Book Club will keep you in touch with the best thinking in the religious realm. Included in its lists will be not only the new books of all the leading publishers in America, but also the great writers and thinkers in Great Britain and other parts of the English-speaking world. The most important translations into English from the German and French and other languages will not be overlooked. The sweep of your contacts will be as wide as the world.

II. How the "Best Book" is Chosen

Each month the "best new book" in the entire field of religious interest will be selected by a committee of seven outstanding figures whose discerning insight into the great problems of religious life and thought has been attested for years by the nation-wide esteem in which they are held by all branches of the Church.

The members of this Editorial Committee are: Chairman, S. Parkes Cadman, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Bishop of Western New York; Dr. Robert M. Speer, acknowledged leader of the foreign missionary movement; Professor Harry Emerson Fosdick, distinguished preacher and author; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of Pittsburgh; Miss Mary E. Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke College, and Professor William Lyon Phelps, of Yale University. None of the members of this Editorial Committee has any business connection whatever with the enterprise.

Do you not agree that any book which appeals strongly to seven such men with their wide outlook, rich experiences and varying points of view, is a book which you will not want to miss?

But you are not forced to accept their judgment as infallible! Perhaps you prefer, despite the eminence of the Editorial Committee, to do your own selecting. By all means! The Religious Book Club does not mean that somebody else is to decide for you what you should read. Therefore, it carefully provides for you the option of choosing independently for yourself the book you prefer, out of a list of several recommended books.

You are guaranteed against any possible dissatisfaction, because every month, before the "best religious book", as selected by the Editorial Committee, comes to you, you will receive a written report as to what kind of book it is. If it appears to you to be what you want, you do nothing - and the postman will deliver it to you a few days later. If, however, it does not appeal to you, you may indicate on an accompanying list of other important new books, also fully described, which one you prefer as an alternative.

Could anything be calculated to give more complete satisfaction? Does not the plan provide exactly the guidance which you have wanted in order to choose your religious books with careful discrimination?

III. What It Costs To Belong

Nothing! Absolutely nothing.

You pay for your books exactly the same price that the publisher himself would charge you. This is made possible by virtue of the fact that the Religious Book Club, with its large membership, can purchase from the publishers at advantageous ~~wholesale~~ prices and so needs no membership fees or other charges to cover the cost of operation.

If you enroll as a member of the Religious Book Club, with the "best new book" each month will come a bill charging you only for the actual published price of the book, plus postage.

So certain is the Religious Book Club that after you have once experienced its advantages you will never be without them, that it allows you to discontinue your membership anytime upon sixty days' notice.

All that is necessary in order to become a member is to sign and mail the enclosed slip. You will then receive regularly the outstanding religious book each month until such time as you may order discontinuance.

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SECRETARIES

September 12, 1927

The Rev. S. M. Cavert,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cavert,

It was a pleasure to receive on returning to New York your interesting letter of August 18th with regard to the Religious Book Club. I should be very glad to talk the matter over with you. Perhaps some of the additional questions which occur to me could be answered. One of these is as to the measure of responsibility which the members of your Committee will be held to have assumed in recommending books. In the present state of things in our churches many of our people are willing to accept a recommendation of a historical or scientific books as worth their reading without holding the one who makes the recommendation responsible for its contents, But the same friends appear to be unwilling to do this in the case of theological and religious books. They are disposed to feel that if the book contains something that may not be acceptable or true it ought not to be read at all.

Quite apart however from this difficulty how do you plan to meet this other one, namely, that some members of your committee might wish to recommend some book and others may be unwilling to do so.

Perhaps you have in mind some provision for a statement in connection with each recommendation which would indicate the measure of responsibility or approval which the Committee was prepared to give. Perhaps some members of such a club as you have in mind would be willing to have some books sent and not others. How is your Committee to be saved from the guillotine where members of the Club disapprove of the books selected? I judge they have no opportunity for choice in advance but must take each month the book determined upon and sent to them.

I trust that you and Mrs. Cavert had a very pleasant summer. I spent the first half of my vacation in August working on a biography of Dr. Wing, the second half I devoted to good stiff manual labor.

With warm regard,

Very cordially yours,

RUC:C.

Samuel Mc C. Cavert

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

AMERICAN DEPT
689
SEP 20 1927
SECRETARIES

2176
2181

Northern Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ

Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Friends
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
National Council of the Protestant
Episcopal Church (Cooperating Agency)

Reformed Church
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Adventist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCAUREA CAVERT

RECEIVED

September twentieth
1927

SEP 21 1927

Mr. Speer

Dear Dr. Speer:

On taking up with Mr. Herring the question which you raised in your letter of September 14, about the use of your name in connection with the new "National Conference of Jews and Christians", I find that your name is included on the letterhead as a member of the "Advisory Council", and on referring to the files, I discover that you wrote on May 18 that you would be glad to serve "if it is clearly understood that the Federal Council's commission in no wise compromises us" in respect to the obligation to win all people, including the Jews, to the acceptance of Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.

This National Conference of Jews and Christians, as I understand it, is a body which has no connection with the Federal Council, having been created for the purpose of having a body which would include both Jews and Christians and make it possible for them, on certain occasions, to act together. The Federal Council's own Committee on Goodwill between Christians and Jews is, of course, made up exclusively of evangelical Christians, and could act in the name of Christians alone and in such matters as are approved by the Federal Council.

If there is any question in your mind about the wisdom of your serving as a member of this new and independent group, I suggest that you take the matter up at once with Mr. Herring, or, if you prefer, ask me to come and talk with you about it and then let me take it up with Mr. Herring. I enclose for your information a copy of the letterhead which is used by the National Conference of Jews and Christians, which will explain the general set-up.

Cordially yours,

Samuel McCrea Cavert
SAMUEL MC CREA CAVERT
General Secretary

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

SMC AS
Enc.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE of JEWS AND CHRISTIANS
For the Advancement of Justice, Amity and Peace
289 FOURTH AVENUE, Room 65
NEW YORK, N. Y.

GRAMERCY 3475

HORACE F. HOWLAND, *Treasurer*
Vice President, Farmers Loan and Trust Company

◆
Advisory Council

JANE ADDAMS
CYRUS ADLER
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NATHAN STRAUS
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE
STEPHEN S. WISE
LOUIS WOLSEY
OWEN D. YOUNG

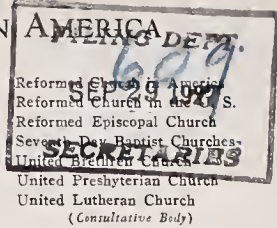
ROGER W. STRAUS }
JOHN W. HERRING } *Chairmen*
of the Executive Board of
Forty Four Members

S. McCaig

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

(INCORPORATED)

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Northern Baptist Convention | Evangelical Church | Methodist Protestant Church |
| National Baptist Convention | Evangelical Synod of N. A. | Moravian Church |
| Free Baptist Churches | Methodist Episcopal Church | Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. |
| Christian Church | Methodist Episcopal Church, South | Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South) |
| Churches of God in N. A. | Methodist M. E. Church | Primitive Methodist Church |
| (General Eldership) | African M. E. Zion Church | National Council of the Protestant |
| Congregational Churches | Colored M. E. Church in America | Episcopal Church (<i>Cooperating Agency</i>) |
| Disciples of Christ | | |



NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

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OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCGREA CAVERT

RECEIVED

SEP 19 1927

September seventeenth
1927

Mr. Speer

u. Religious Books Club

Dear Dr. Speer:

Since talking with you the other day about the proposed Religious Book Club, I have given a little further thought to the kind of books which it would seem to me the members of the selecting committee might well consider from month to month. On looking through the announcements of the various publishers for this fall, I find a considerable wealth of material which makes me feel that we shall not have any serious difficulty in finding books which will be eminently valuable and which will not be needlessly controversial.

I have noted the following as among those which I shall want to examine carefully and, if the contents measure up to the expectations aroused by the announcements, submit at least some of them to the members of the selecting committee:

- Rufus Jones. New Studies in Mystical Religion
- Rt. rev. William Temple. Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects
- Dean Inge. The Church in the World
- Maude Royden. I Believe in God
- Ernest H. Groves and Gladys H. Groves. Wholesome Marriage
(If this book is up to the standard of Professor Groves' previous publications on the family and the home, I should think it would make an especially important book to recommend.)
- Paul Monroe. China, a Nation in Evolution.
(Possibly this might seem a little far afield, but I judge from the announcement that it will deal with conditions which are of vital concern to all who are interested in missions.)
- Professor H. R. Mackintosh. The Christian Experience of Forgiveness
(Possibly this may be a little too abstractly theological, but if it is written in an interesting style, it ought to be admirable.)
- Professor Harry N. Wieman. the Wrestle of Religion with Truth.

I should imagine that, out of this list, together with a few others that might be suggested by members of the Committee, we should find enough important publications to serve as our recommended books for a period of several months.

Certain publications which have already appeared earlier in 1927 might be used as supplementary titles, which could be chosen by members of the Club instead of the recommended books, for example:

Canon Streeter's Reality

(Although we should have to consider whether it is rather too stiff reading for our ^{constancy} ~~audience~~.)

William Adams Brown. The Life of Prayer in a World of science

Father Bull. The Economics of the Kingdom of God

Mrs. Bruere. Does Prohibition Work?

(A very interesting and on the whole optimistic survey of present conditions, made under the direction of the Federation of Social Settlements)

Bishop McConnell. The Christ-like God.

If you still have a bit of uncertainty as to whether you should serve as a member of the Selecting Committee, I wonder whether you would not be willing to do so for a few months, with the definite understanding that, if you found it too heavy a responsibility or embarrassing in any way, you would be wholly free quietly to discontinue your connection with it.

Always cordially yours,

Samuel McCreia Caveri

SAMUEL MC CREA CAVERI
General Secretary

Dr. Robert E. Spear
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

SMC AS

Herbert L. Willett

FILING DEPT.

JUN 11 1921

609
SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Baptist Churches (North)
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Evangelical Association
Lutheran Church, General Synod
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church (South)
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church

Colored M. E. Church in America
Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.(South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commissions on
Christian Unity and Social Service
Reformed Church in America

Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Evangelical Church
United Presbyterian Church
Welsh Presbyterian Church

OFFICES—105 EAST 22ND ST., NEW YORK CITY—937 WOODWARD BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 SOUTH LA SALLE ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
HERBERT L. WILLETT, REPRESENTATIVE

CHICAGO, May 28, 1921.

Mr. Robert E. Speer,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Speer:-

I am very anxious to have a photograph of you for my office wall here in Chicago. Please send me a copy of a photograph suitable for this purpose or tell me where I can secure one. If you send the photograph kindly autograph it diagonally across the lower right hand corner.

Cordially yours,

Herbert L. Willett

FILING DEPT.
JUN 11 1921
609
SECRETARIES

June 8th, 1921

The Rev. Herbert L. Willett, D.D.,
19 So. La Salle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Willett,

I am sorry that I have no recent photographs, but
I enclose herewith a copy of such as I have with the under-
standing that you will not use it for publication.

With warm regards,

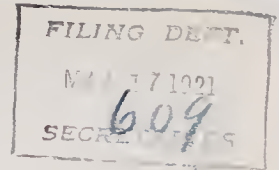
Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

Herbert L. Willett

COPY

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA



CHICAGO May 4, 1921.

Mr. Charles S. Macfarland,
105 East 22nd St.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Macfarland:-

Apropos of the educational conference that is to be held in Garden City next week I want to report the sentiments of some of our group here in Chicago. The group I speak of includes Soares, Ward, Cope, Mathews and one or two others. They have the feeling that the conference is likely to have few results unless the formality of the program can be broken up and there can be a real discussion of the present educational situation such as will issue in a constructive formulation of policy. There is intimation that the meeting will be simply a series of addresses taking the form of presenting the activities and ambitions of the various agencies that are represented. It is the feeling that if those same people could sit down in an informal conference, facing the question as to what agencies are really needed in case there were no organizations at all in the field, and how the present organizations can best relate themselves to this basic need, it would bring some tangible results.

Still further it is the feeling that the present chaotic condition in the field of religious education is going to continue with its rivalry and cross-cutting until the Federal Council is able to organize a commission on Christian Education with a full time and carefully chosen secretary to give it direction. Over and over it was said that if we had that kind of an organization, similar to the Commission on Social Service and the Commission on Evangelism, it would do more to put the Federal Council in a position of leadership with all educational forces than anything else that could be contrived. They recognize the financial problem, but believe that the movement is too timely and the work too important not to have the most careful consideration at the hands of the Federal Council.

There is the feeling that if the forthcoming conference is merely formal and does not issue in a constructive and comprehensive policy we shall simply settle back into the old ruts and the old competitions.

I thought that you and Mr. Cavert ought to know of this strong feeling here before the conference is held.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Herbert L. Willett

RECEIVED

AUG 16 1921

Mr. Spear

64

Bishop E. Wilson

FILING DEPT

AUG 16 1921

SECRETARIES

RESIDENT BISHOP
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

August
3rd
1921.

Dr. Robert E. Spear,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Doctor Sper

I trust that you received the long distance message which Bishop Wilson sent yesterday in regard to the meeting of this afternoon. Today I am in receipt of a letter from him in which he says:

"I have a cold with a touch of sore throat and my doctor thinks it will not be wise for me to go to New York tomorrow. Please explain to Dr. Spear whom I most tremendously honor and love."

Very truly,

H. Hughes

FILING DEPT.

MAR 4 1921

609
SECRETARIES

February 28th, 1921

Mrs. C. P. Turner,
1506 Walnut Street,
Philadelphia, Penna.

My dear Mrs. Turner,

Your good honest, helpful letter of the 25th is just received. You will be pleased with the copy of a letter which came to me from two good people in Westmoreland, N.Y., in reply to another letter which I had written with regard to the Federal Council. They wrote:

"Your letter of Jan. 15th is at hand. I have read it carefully but must confess it gave me very little information. No doubt it is perfectly clear to you what the Federal Council is accomplishing, and perhaps it would be to me if I had more time to study the letter. In the future if your statements could be made in more simple language suitable to the comprehension of comparatively uneducated people, we could give with more enthusiasm, if we were unable to spare more money."

I have not received many letters which gave me more genuine satisfaction than this one. It greatly pleased also Mr. Burnett, a financial agent who has been working for the Federal Council and who believes in sending people subscription books and all kinds of department store devices.

And I do thoroughly agree with your view as to what the effective forms of influence are. I do not believe in the big organization and the noisy movement. I have just been reading to Mrs. Speer one of William Adams' letters in which there is a beautiful passage which you will like. It is a letter to Mrs. Henry Whitman of Boston, in which James writes:

"As for me, my bed is made: I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and with the invisible molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time. The bigger the unit you deal with, the hollower, the more brutal, the more mendacious is the life displayed. So I am against all big organizations as such, national ones first and foremost; against all big successes or big results; and in favor of the eternal forces which always work in

the

Mrs. C. P. Turner,-2.

the individual and immediately unsuccessful way, underlays always, till history comes.
after they are long dead and puts them on top."

Did you ever read anything more beautiful and in one sense true than this?

On the other hand it is not all the truth, and I see clearly that unless you furnish the
right forms for cooperative work to the cooperative spirit which exists, it will find wrong
forms, like the Inter-Church World Movement.

I went by your house last evening in a driving rain on my way out to speak for
Dr. Ferry. If there had been time I would have come in but I had been speaking out of
the city and only got in in time for the evening meeting. We had a church full in spite
of the pouring storm.

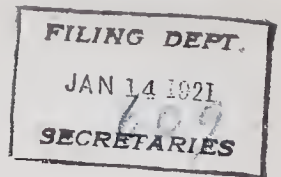
It is too good of you to think of any little remembrance in connection with
Elliott's marriage. Please do not give it a moment's thought. As you have asked for
Miss Wells' address though, I must give it.- It is, Miss Charlotte Rose Wells, 27 Washington
Square, N., New York City.

With warm regard from Mrs. Speer and myself,

Ever affectionately yours,

RES:C.

re: C. A. Barbour



January 12, 1921.

The Rev. Herbert L. Willott, D.D.
19 S. LaSalle Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Dr. Willott,

The Nominating Committee of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council which is to report to the meeting of the Executive Committee in New York City on January 21st has been pressing upon President Clarence A. Barbour of the Theological Seminary in Rochester his acceptance of the call to the Secretaryship of the Council. He seems to everyone to have just the training and temper and relationship which are essential. I have had several long talks with him, and Dr. McFarland and Mr. Covert are expecting to spend Wednesday of this week with him. He was in New York last week, and at that time a number of the men most deeply interested in the Federal Council met with him and presented the call to him in the strongest way. I am writing to ask whether you not write to him urging upon him as strongly as you can the uniqueness of the present opportunity, and the need of just such service as he can render at this hour and in his place. We all feel that if it could be announced, however, at the meeting on January 21st that he would accept this service, it would mean a long step forward toward the accomplishment of the ideals which many are cherishing, and it will contribute more than anything else that

Dr. Willitt -3

can think of toward assisting the Churches that they have in the Council the kind of instrumentality they need for wise and careful and yet courageous cooperative service.

Since the meeting of the Council in Boston there have been many conferences with regard to its program plan, but we all realize that the one important problem is the problem of personnel and of strengthening and enriching the leadership which the secretarial direction of the Council must provide.

I know that you are ready to do anything that you can to help, and if you can render this service in writing strongly to Dr. Barber I shall be very grateful.

Very cordially yours,

rea/ms

MAILING DEPT
CABLE ADDRESS: N. A. C. 1110
FEB 5 1921
SECRETARIES

The American Baptist Home Mission Society

ESTABLISHED 1832

INCORPORATED IN NEW YORK, 1843

\$1,000,000
NEEDED ANNUALLY

23 East 26th Street, New York

ACTIVITIES and
FIELDS

A FORM OF REQUEST

"I give and bequeath to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, formed in the year 1832, the sum of \$..... for the general purposes of said society."

CHARLES L. WHITE, *Executive Secretary*

SAMUEL BRYANT, *Treasurer*

Missions, Evangelism, Education, Community Service, Church and Parsonage Erection.

Frontier, Rural Communities, Cities, Industrial Centers, Foreign Speaking Groups, Indians, Negroes, Latin America.

ANNUITIES

Annuity agreements written for any amount yielding 4 to 9 per cent, according to age.

January seventeenth 1921

Over 1000 missionaries speaking 27 American, European, Asiatic Languages.

Dr. Robert Speer,
105 E. 22nd Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Speer:

Dr. Clarence A. Barbour will write to you and also confer with you personally concerning our sympathetic attitude on denominational cooperation. We had a very interesting meeting, recently which I believe augurs only good for the cause which we all have so much at heart. I have every confidence that we are to have a happy issue out of our present perplexities. Whatever I can do personally or officially I shall regard as one of my greatest privileges and joys in the service of our Lord.

Cordially yours,

Charles L. White
Executive Secretary.

CLW/D

*of our Administrative Council

Charles L. White

PHONE MADISON Sq. 7215

NORTH AMERICA FOR CHRIST

FILING DEPT.

CABLE ADDRESS: FBHOMIS1

609
SECRETARIES

The American Baptist Home Mission Society

ESTABLISHED 1832

INCORPORATED IN NEW YORK, 1843

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Over 1000 missionaries speaking 27 American, European, Asiatic Languages.

January seventeenth 1921

Dr. Robert Speer,
105 East Twenty-second St.,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Speer:

After long protracted sessions in the budget committee of the Home Missions Council, of which I had the burden of chairmanship, I returned late last Friday to a meeting of the Home Missions Council at which a motion had already been presented reflecting the desired attitude of the Council concerning the committee of which Dr. Watson is the Executive Secretary. Under all the circumstances I thought it better not to speak to the question, but I was able to modify the action. Had I asked for the changing of the vote to an expression of deep interest, etc., I fear I might have been misunderstood. My personal relationships are so delicate in this matter that perhaps I am unduly anxious. I very much appreciate the privilege of talking the matter over with you and hope to continue the conversation sometime when our paths cross again and we have the opportunity for a conference.

I cannot gather from words dropped by Dr. Barbour whether he is coming to us or not, but I conclude that he is stirred very deeply by the call to service. My own conviction is that it would be the largest opportunity that will ever come to him. If you and he could work that thing out together with such groups as would gladly cooperate, my own heart would beat normally again I think. Night and day the matter presses for my attention and I can only end my anxious thought in prayer.

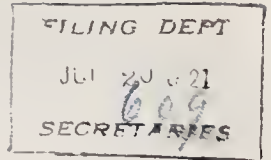
With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Charles L. White.
Executive Secretary.

RECEIVED

^{2.5}
John Weyerhaeuser



OFFICE OF
FREDERICK WEYERHAEUSER
MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
SAINT PAUL MINNESOTA

Mr. Spear

JOHN P. WEYERHAEUSER
CHARLES A. WEYERHAEUSER
RUDOLPH M. WEYERHAEUSER
FREDERICK E. WEYERHAEUSER

315 So Orange Grove Ave
Pasadena Cal. June 9th 1921

Dr Robert E. Spear.
New York City.

Dear Dr Spear. Your several letters asking for a subscription in support of the work of the Federal Council of the Churches have been on my desk for some time. I have had it in mind to send a check but other calls upon me have been and are so urgent that I think I shall have to put the 'Council' off for the present at least.

Naturally I am very much interested in your plans. I think most men who believe in the Y.M.C.A. are enthusiastic about closer Church co-operation.

I am sorry to disappoint you
Sincerely yours
F. Weyerhaeuser

cc: C. A. Barbour

FILING DEPT.

JAN 14 1921

SECRETARIES

January 12, 1921.

The Rev. Henry B. Washburn, D.D.,
3 Mason Street,
Cambridge, Mass.

My dear Dean Washburn,

The Nominating Committee of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council which is to report to the meeting of the Executive Committee in New York City on January 21st has been pressing upon President Clarence A. Barbour of the Theological Seminary in Rochester his acceptance of the call to the secretaryship of the Council. He seems to everyone to have just the training and temper and relationships which are essential. I have had several long talks with him, and Dr. Macfarland and Mr. Cavert are expecting to spend Wednesday of this week with him. He was in New York last week, and at that time a number of the men most deeply interested in the Federal Council met with him and presented the call to him in the strongest way. I am writing to ask whether you will not write to him urging upon him as strongly as you can the uniqueness of the present opportunity and the need of just such service as he can render at this hour and in this place. We all feel that if it could be announced, however, at the meeting on January 21st that he would accept this service, it would mean a long step forward toward the accomplishment of the ideals which many are cherishing, and it will contribute more than anything else that we can think of toward assuring the Churches that they have in the Council the kind of instrumentality they need for wise and careful and yet courageous cooperative service.

Since the meeting of the Council in Boston there have been many con-

Dr. Washburn -2-

ferences with regard to its work and plans, but we all realize that the important problem is the problem of personnel and of strengthening and enriching ^{the} leadership which the Secretarial direction of the Council must provide.

I know that you are ready to do anything that you can to help, and if you can render this service in writing strongly to Dr. Barbour I shall be very grateful.

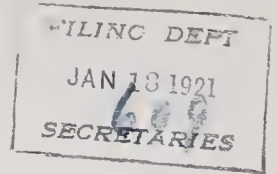
With kind regard,

Very cordially yours,

res/ms

Henry B. Washburn

EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS



OFFICE OF THE DEAN
3 MASON STREET

re: C. A. Barbour

January 13, 1921.

My dear Dr. Speer:

I don't know what to say in reply to your letter of January 12. President Barbour would make an admirable secretary of the Federal Council, but he also makes an admirable president of the Theological Seminary at Rochester. If I were following my own inclinations, I would probably advise him to stay at Rochester. I can, however, write to him and say that if in his own opinion he thinks it wise to accept the offer, that I shall be most gratified, for I look upon him as one of very few men who could fill the position most acceptably. I shall, therefore, write in this vein.

Faithfully yours,

Henry B. Washburn

Robert E. Speer, Ph.D.,
Federal Council of Churches,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

FILING DEPT.
JAN 18 1921
609
SECRETARIES

JOHN B. TREVOR
11 EAST NINETY-FIRST STREET
NEW YORK

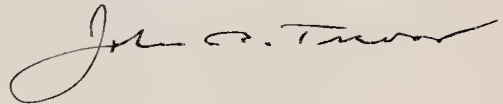
January 8th, 1921.

Mr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Rockefeller's secretary supplied me with a copy of the report on the deportation cases and I expect to have some information in connection therewith by Tuesday or Wednesday which I will place in your hands on my return to the city.

Very truly yours,



I learned from Johnson
on Jan 12 that the report
was not to be sent Jan 17th

C o p y

FILING DEPT.

MAR 4 1921

SECRETARIES

February 23, 1921

Mr. John B. Trevor
11 East 91st Street
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Absences from the city have prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your letter of January 22d with regard to Mr. Panunzio's report on certain deportation cases.

I am not competent to answer your comments on the several cases where you believe the statements to be inadequate or inaccurate. I believe that Mr. Panunzio and Mr. Johnson, however, are ready to take up any of the statements made in the report at any time and either to establish them or correct them.

Mr. Johnson tells me that he informed you that the statement "that no inquiry was made at the Department of Justice in regard to the facts contained in the report" is an error. I understand also that the report was gone over and approved prior to its publication by Dean Stone of the Columbia Law School and, subsequent to its publication, by Mr. Francis Fisher Kane, formerly, I believe, United States District Attorney in Philadelphia.

I have showed your letter to me to Mr. Johnson and he writes:

"I wish that, if you think it proper to do so, you would add a paragraph to your letter to Mr. Trevor, stating that I am taking up with the Department of Justice the representations which he has made at the instance of the Department, and that Mr. Panunzio and I have offered to canvass very carefully any materials which they may present. It would only be fair also to point out to Mr. Trevor that it was precisely for the purpose of securing such data or alleged data that repeated efforts were made to get access to records in the Department of Justice during the course of the study."

At the time I received your letter I was reading Mr. Martin's volumes containing the letters of Mr. Choate, in one of which I think there is a reference to you. In reading these entrancing letters and the addresses of Mr. Choate and Mr. Root, which Mr. Martin quotes, one could not but reflect on the contrast between such passages as are found on pages 285 and 404 in the second volume and some of the procedures described in Mr. Panunzio's statement.

One wonders also how Mr. Choate, or you, or I, would have felt if we and our families had passed through the experiences of some of these men whose cases have been reported, and the truth of which has not been called in question.

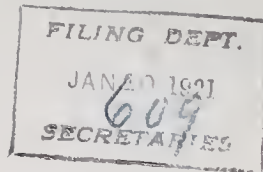
Undoubtedly, there is a great evil and peril needing to be dealt with. The question is as to the wisest and most effective method of dealing with it, and how to avoid injustice and lawlessness in the effort to uphold law and justice. Is it not possible that injustice and lawlessness, in the name of law, may increase the very evils which they are employed to remove?

Very faithfully yours,

President.

RES:ED

John B. Trevor



January 5th, 1921.

Dear Sir:

Were you able to secure from Mr. Rockefeller the copy of the report on the deportation cases which I had sent him and in which you were interested. I presume Mr. Johnson who had the report in hand and who has been away from the city for a fortnight will be wishing to make some disposition of it soon, and if there is anything in the report which you would like to confer with him or with me about we should be very glad to hear from you with regard to it and to talk with you about it.

Very faithfully yours,

res/ms

Mr. John B. Trevor,
11 East 91st St.
N.Y. City.

A. L. Tinsley

Dr Robert E. Spurr, Pres.

FILING DEPT.

APR 19 1921

SECRETARIES

My dear Dr Spurr: ✓

April 3, 1921

I thank you for your letter of March 31. It has seemed to me that the protestant church ought to take a definite stand in recommending to parents and those in charge of young children and youth that they warn their charges of the moral and physical ill^s attendant on vicious practices. The ground on

Which this position should
be taken, in my opinion,
is the Ten Commandments,
and especially the Seventh.
Doubt whether it is going
too far to say that no
child is too young to be
watched and warned. The
frequent mistreatment of
infants by vicious nurses
is a well-attested medical
fact. Speaking on this sub-
ject to a gentleman the
other day he very frankly
said that he was so
treated when four years
of age, it very prominent
medical man in a lecture

the other day was reported
to have said that Social
Science was alarmingly
prevalent among children.
Not only is there deplorable
ignorance to be overcome
but positive misinformation
to combat. How many boys
and youths have been led
astray by being told by
their older companions or
by adult men that it is
necessary to violate mankind
that their peculiar organs
should function practically
from puberty as nature
intended? How many of them
are unconsciously alarmed

and led to immorality
by false views of a
frequently perfectly normal
symptom of adolescence?

Speaking several years ago
on the subject to a College
Seminar, he expressed his thanks
for the information and
the relief to his mind it
afforded, saying he felt
much of the wildness
of his classmates was
due to lack of the self-
same knowledge.

One of the speakers of
the Islam and Religion Forward

Movement. Some years ago, said
there was nothing, in his opin-
ion, that would break down
the barrier of reserve, between
father and son, that deals
so frequently, on this sub-
ject, as a frank talk on
the part of the father.

He thought it would bring
the two together like
nothing else in the world ^{do} ~~done~~.

This was precisely in line
with what a prominent
New York specialist said
to me some 20 years
ago, that the first person
a Jewish youth consults

When in trouble due to some
wayward act or sin against
morality, was his father,
whereas the latter was the
last one ^{confided in by}
a Christian boy. I think
the failure of the Church
to take a stand in the
matter is largely responsi-
ble for such a state
of affairs, which I think
is a reproach to its lead-
ership. In this connection
I understand the Roman ^{Church} ~~State~~
takes credit for a much
higher percentage of ac-

captaincy of its draft tax
during the war, than of
the rest of the young men,
explaining that it was
due to the care that is
taken with the morals
of its young people.

Much credit in the dissemi-
nation of essential knowledge
on this subject is due,
I think, to the U. S. Public
Health Service, by the posting
of printed warnings in the
train rooms on through
trains and otherwise. It
is not necessary, ⁱⁿ perhaps,
some parents think, that they

Should explain to their very
 young children the whole
 of the physiology of sex.
 If they do not feel willing
 or capable of doing it or do not
 think it advisable for the time being
 let them employ the usual means
 to marriage, crushed in laying
 the child can understand
 In many cases, perhaps, this
 is all that is needed at
first. And ^{each} the Church should
 have some one ^{appointed} for the boys
 and another one for the girls
 that parents unwilling to
 perform this duty, could
 send their children to. I have
 never seen or heard of any harm re-
 sulting from serious, brief advice to
 children on the subject. I was once thanked
 many years ago, and by a man to whom I
 had given such advice as a boy in my 15th year.

Sunday Oct 27
 216 2nd St Paul St
 Boston Mass April 24/25

MAILING DEPT.

FEB 25 1921

609
SECRETARIES

February 21st, 1921

The Rev. George Summey, D.D.,
New Orleans, La.

My dear Dr. Summey,

I venture to send you herewith a copy of "The Presbyterian" of January 13th, which is one of our Northern Presbyterian Church papers published in Philadelphia. Both "The Presbyterian" and the "Presbyterian Banner", which is published in Pittsburgh have expressed the view that the Federal Council is an unnecessary organization from which the Northern Presbyterian Church ought to withdraw or that, at any rate, it should be made a very small affair and be very much restricted in its field of action. In writing to the Presbyterian on the subject I ventured to quote from your good letter to Dr. Macfarland with regard to the meeting in Boston. You will find this question on page 20 of the copy of "The Presbyterian" which I am sending you.

It was a great pleasure to see you in Boston and to have the expression of opinion which you wrote in your letter to Dr. Macfarland. Please do not fail to write with your counsel at any time with regard to the wise and useful course for the Federal Council to pursue.

Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

GEORGE SUMMEY, D. D., LL. D.
PASTOR

GEORGE BATTALORA,
CLERK OF SESSION

C. W. KAY,
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF DEACONS
TREAS'R BOARD OF TRUSTEES

J. ANDREW THOMAS,
PRESIDENT BOARD OF TRUSTEES

E. A. SUAREZ,
SECRETARY BOARD OF TRUSTEES

J. E. JOHNSON, DEACONS' SECRETARY

W. F. DELOTEUS, DEACONS' TREASURER

J. E. BADER, S. S. SUP'T.

IRWIN CRASSONS, B. S. TREAS'R.

George Summey

Third Presbyterian Church

ESPLANADE AVENUE, NEAR N. BROAD STREET

PASTOR'S ADDRESS: 2644 BARRACKS STREET

TELEPHONE: HEMLOCK 3003

NEW ORLEANS

April 26, 1921.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City,

My dear Dr. Speer,

I owe you an apology for not more speedily acknowledging your recent letter concerning your article in the Philadelphia "Presbyterian," and stating that you were then forwarding me a copy of that paper. The "Presbyterian" did not come until two or three weeks later, and just as I was leaving home for some extensive work in the upper part of the State.

I thank you for the kind expressions of your letter and article. The letter from which you quoted in your article was written voluntarily and reflected my views exactly, and I stand to those views despite some very sharp criticism which has come to me from several quarters. The 4th Quadrennial Council of the Churches of Christ in America impressed me most favorably as to certain points in reference to which there had been in the Southern Presbyterian Church frequent and earnest protests - protests in which I joined no less earnestly and vigorously than many brethren who have now seen fit to criticize my willingness to see any good thing in the Federal Council. I prepared and presented and urged the adoption of the Report in the Southern Assembly of 1919 that voiced the protest of our church, and which yet recommended its continuance in the Federal Council by electing the requisite number of delegates. Attending the Boston meeting, and serving on the Business Committee there, I had occasion to see most intimately the spirit that animated the Council. I was impressed with the fact that it was earnestly seeking to avoid everything that would impinge upon the distinctive views or testimony of any of the bodies composing it. My views on the matter of protest are unchanged, but I regarded the spirit and at-

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MAY 21 1921

SECRET. RIFG

30

Mr. Speer

(4)

GEORGE SUMMEY, D. D., LL. D.
PASTOR

GEORGE BATTALORA,
CLERK OF SESSION

C. W. KAY,
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF DEACONS
TREAS'R BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Third Presbyterian Church

ESPLANADE AVENUE, NEAR N. BROAD STREET

PASTOR'S ADDRESS: 2644 BARRACKS STREET

TELEPHONE: HEMLOCK 3003

NEW ORLEANS

R.E.S. 2

titude of the Boston Council as fully confirming my conviction that the Southern Church should continue its connection by electing the requisite number of delegates. The Business Com'ee at first appeared to be ready to run wild on matters embraced in the oft repeated protests of the Southern Presbyterian Church, but it soon gave a most happy acquiescence to the efforts of two or three of us to keep within the proper bounds. That acquiescence and the general spirit of the Council itself and its evident desire to keep within the fundamental principles of its organization made a very pleasant impression upon me.

With best wishes for you personally and in the leadership of the Council, I am,

Most cordially yours,

George Summey.

Paul Moore Strayer

Third Presbyterian Church

Rochester, N. Y.

CHURCH OFFICE AND MINISTER'S STUDY
IN THE PARISH HOUSE, 4 MEIGS STREET

609
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 MISS HAZEL L. WEBBER
 CHURCH SECRETARY
 4 MEIGS STREET
 FEB 28 1921
 MISS MARY A. PARIS
 DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
 SEGRIVE STREET
 H. H. STEBBINS, JR., TREASURER
 87 FRANKLIN STREET

MINISTERS
PAUL MOORE STRAYER D. D.
91 MERRIMAN STREET

A. A. FULTON, D. D., CANTON, CHINA

HERBERT W. GREIG
WEST AFRICA

REV. LIVINGSTON BENTLEY
HAMADEN, PERSIA

REV. J. M. IBANEZ
BISBEE, ARIZONA

MISS MARY E. GRIFFITH
LAUREL HOSPITAL, WHITE ROCK, N. C.

REC. : VER

JAN 29 '21

Mr. Snear

re: Clarence A. Barbour

January 28, 1921.

My dear Robert,-

After two attempts I found Dr. Barbour the other day and had a long talk with him. He is in real distress in coming to a decision over the invitation of the Federal Council. He is drawn to the task by his real affection for you, with whom he would love to work. That same feeling would make it hard for any of us to say "No" to you. Also he realizes the present great opportunity of the Federal Council. Almost anything could be done now.

But he is held here by personal ties, by his duty to his wife and aged mother, and by his duty to the Seminary. He has not been President for many years and during two of these he was away most of the time on war work. The fact of his being a middle-of-the-road man, which makes him desirable for the Federal Council, also makes him desirable for the Seminary. There are few men of decided convictions who haven't been identified either with the conservative or the progressive group. As the faculty of the Rochester Seminary has become more liberal it is in danger of coming under fire from some elements of the church, and Dr. Barbour, having their confidence, is needed where he is.

I did not feel it right to press him unduly, but presented as strongly as I could the service he might render to the whole church through the Federal Council. He is deeply conscious of this, and he waits only for a more certain guidance of God's Spirit before deciding.

With affectionate good wishes, I am

Heartily yours,

Paul Moore Strayer

COPY.

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JUN 12 1921

699
SECRETARIES

Dr. Strayer's letter of May 23rd, sent to Dr. Macfarland, June 8, 1921.

June 7, 1921

The Rev. Paul Moore Strayer, D.D.,
4 Meigs Street,
Rochester, N.Y.

My dear Paul,

I have been away the last fortnight, attending our own Assembly and the Southern Presbyterian Assembly, the United Brethren Convention, and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Synod. On returning to the office yesterday I found your good letter of May 23rd. I have not had any opportunity to confer with Dr. Macfarland or any of the other people at the Federal Council with reference to the matter, but shall do so at the first opportunity.

You speak of five different types of churches, to each of which the investigating material would have to be adapted. Had you worked out these adaptations or was the survey questionnaire contained in your letter meant for the normal city or town church.

I listened to the discussion of the report of the Committee on narrative at the Assembly, and understand that the Committee has authority to experiment with a new blank after having first submitted it to the Executive Commission.

I suspect that we will find the point of view and forms of thought of the different denominations so very different that we may have difficulty in devising anything that will be generally acceptable. We ought to be able, however, in some one of the Commissions or special groups of the Federal Council to test the matter out, and I will take the matter up with Dr. Macfarland or Mr. Cavert or Dr. Guild.

We are having a hard time in getting the Federal Council on to a solid financial basis. I am afraid it will be some years before we can get the denominations back of it in the official and responsible way that has been proposed. We have also been catching it, as you know, from the economic reactionaries, but I trust that the worst of this is past.

With warm regard,

Your sincere friend

(signed) Robert E. Speer.

res/ms.

re: Clarence A. Barbour

FILING DEPT.

JAN 14 1921

SECRETARIES

January 13, 1921.

The Rev. Paul Moore Strayer, D.D.,
4 Meigs Street,
Rochester, N.Y.

My dear Paul,

How often I have longed these last few weeks for a chance to talk with you. Perhaps I can see you when you are down on Saturday at the Conference on Social problems, and have some chance to talk with you then. Meanwhile I am dropping just this note to say that after innumerable conferences there has been almost complete unanimity of mind that Clarence Barbour would be the best man that we could get at the present time for the secretarial work of the Federal Council. I have had long conferences with him, and many others have seen him also, and Dr. Macfarland and L.R. Cavert were to spend Wednesday of this week with him. Would it not be possible for you to see him and to urge upon him in the strongest way that you can his acceptance of this position in this critical and promising hour? You know very well just what the opportunities and needs are, never greater than at this moment, and I trust you can bring strong influence to bear upon Dr. Barbour to lead him to accept this call, if indeed, as it seems to us, it is God's will for him.

With warm regard,

Your sincere friend,

res/ms

FILING DEPT

AUG 11 1921

609
SECRETARIES

August 8, 1921/

incoming letter Mar. 22, 1921.
sent to Federal Council.

and R.E.S. reply March 12.

Mr. E. P. Street,
Standard Paint Company
Joliet, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Street,

I am just leaving for a visit to India and Persia in connection with my duties as one of the Secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, but in view of our correspondence last winter I have wanted to send you before going a copy of a little leaflet with regard to the Federal Council and its industrial Relations, and a statement of expressions of opinion from employers on the Industrial program of the Council.

I trust that you may find time to read these, and also the copy of the statement of the New York Merchants Association on the subject of the Open Shop which I am sending, and which exactly represents in its tone and spirit and principles what I understand to be the mind of the Federal Council on questions in this field.

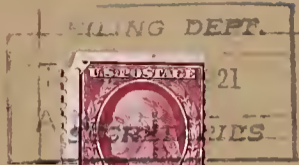
I know what differences of opinion there are as to the propriety of the Church's concerning itself with social and industrial problems, but I know also that if the Church did not concern itself with these problems, neither God nor man would have use for it very long. Our modern world is not made up of individual persons alone, but is made up of collective persons like Labor Unions, Corporations, aggregations of power of many kind, which men have created, but which are themselves each a sort of gigantic and collective man. Is the Gospel not to be preached to these creatures as well as to others? As I read my New Testament Christ's clear command to His Church was to make disciples of the nations, to teach them to obey His law, and to preach the Gospel to every creature. His words clearly mean that the principles of Christianity are to be applied to nations and to all other institutions and agencies created by men which determine the well-being of the bodies and souls of God's children. It is not only conceivable, but certain that any agency, whether it be the Church or any other that attempts to deal with these or any other problems will make mistakes, but these mistakes will be less, I believe, than the one colossal mistake which the Church would make if it turned its back upon its Mission and did not seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and to have the law of God and of His Son, Jesus Christ, obeyed in all the individual and corporate life of men. Is this not a reasonable and Christian view?

With kind regard,

Very faithfully yours,

res/ms

Sheer



Dr. Robert E. Speer, Pres.,
105 East 22nd St.,
New York City, N. Y.

RUST CRAFT PUBLISHERS

Greeting Cards and Gift Novelties

Fred W Rust  Donald E. Rust

1000 Washington Street Boston

Fred. W. Rust

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MAY 12 1921
689
SECRETARIES

RUST CRAFT PUBLISHERS

Greeting Cards and Gift Novelties

Fred W. Rust  Donald E. Rust

1000 Washington Street, Boston

Ernest Dudley Chase
Associate

New York Office
200 Fifth Ave.

WR

April 21, 1921.

Mr. Clarence L. Burnet, Financial Sec.,
105 East 22nd St.,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Burnet:--

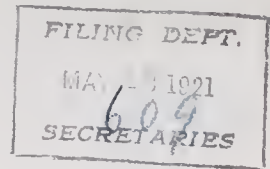
I am enclosing herewith your little Subscription Booklet, which you sent me and with reference to same, I want to register protest against this method of money raising.

It seems more like the method of raising money for a Negro Baptist Church, than the method that ought to be used by such a great organization as yours. For one thing, it is distinctly unethical, as it gives the wrong idea to many people. It gives the idea that the various people listed in the book have had this same little book and placed their Subscription in it and therefore one must not break the "chain", by failing to return it to your headquarters.

I am not a large Giver, but I try to do my part; but your Organization will never receive a Subscription from me until a change in your method is made. I feel sure that many people must feel the same about it, even those who subscribe on account of the greatness of the work that you are listed to do.

Very truly yours,
Fred W. Rust

F/



May 5th, 1921

Mr. Fred W. Rust,
1000 Washington Street,
Boston, Mass.

My dear Mr. Rust,

I am very glad to have a copy of your letter of April 21st to Mr. Burnet with regard to the little subscription books. I abominate these books and this whole method of money raising. When I became President of the Federal Council a few months ago I made an immediate protest against this entire method of solicitation. I would rather reduce the work of any organization with which I was connected than to have it maintained in this way. I have always refused to give anything in response to these subscription books to any cause which makes use of them.

Dr. Macfarland and Mr. Burnet were willing to yield to my prejudice to the extent of letting me send out what I thought was a proper and dignified statement to some thousands of names to whom they have been intending to send the subscription books. I did this I am sorry to say with very poor results. It may have been the ineffectiveness of the letter which I sent, but they contend that human nature is such that the subscription book method is superior and have produced cases of donors both rich and poor who ignored my letters and who, when Mr. Burnet afterwards sent them the little subscription books, at once replied.

None the less, I detest the whole method and am glad to say that I hope before many months have gone by, that we should have got rid of it.

Very sincerely yours,

RES:C.

Wms.

REV. WALTER C. ROE
MISSIONARY R. C. A.

MAILING DEPT.

JAN 21 1921

SECRETARIES

"THE PARSONAGE"
COLONY, OKLA.

10.28 \$1
17.28 \$2

Jan. 28. 1921.

Dear Mr. Speer.

I do believe in the principles you lay down & in the wise & conservative action of the Council. I thought I had already contributed but am so glad to send this little check anyway. Oh, how I wish I could make it much larger! God bless you in all your great & constructive work.

Remember me to Mrs. Speer & the dear children.
Cordially yours,
Walter C. Roe

FILING DEPT.
SECRETARIES

February 28th, 1921

Mr. John B. Rockefeller, Jr.,
26 Broadway,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Rockefeller,

I was very greatly relieved to get your note of February 22nd with Mr. Fosdick's enclosed letter, which I return herewith. I wish very much that I might be allowed to show Mr. Fosdick's letter to one or two friends who have been just as solicitous as I have been that the Federal Council should not stand sponsor for any utterance that was not absolutely trustworthy.

Before receiving your letter I had written to Mr. Trevor in answer to his letter to me, of which he sent you a copy, and I venture to enclose a copy of this letter of mine to him.

Please do not trouble to return the galley proof of Mr. Panunzio's report. It can be destroyed.

The Princeton men will be very greatly disappointed in not having you in the series which they are planning, but they will entirely understand, and will be grateful for your cordial sympathy with them in their plans.

I shall look forward with great pleasure to talking over with you when you come back a number of these questions. If you could find time to read while you are away a report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook on the Church and Industrial Reconstruction I should be glad to have a copy of it sent.

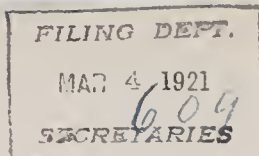
Very cordially yours,

RBS:C.

Enclosures.

C o p y

February 23, 1921



Mr. John B. Trevor
11 East 91st Street
New York City

Dear Sir:

Absences from the city have prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your letter of January 22d with regard to Mr. Panunzio's report on certain deportation cases. I am not competent to answer your comments on the several cases where you believe the statements to be inadequate or inaccurate. I believe that Mr. Panunzio and Mr. Johnson, however, are ready to take up any of the statements made in the report at any time and either to establish them or correct them.

Mr. Johnson tells me that he informed you that the statement "that no inquiry was made at the Department of Justice in regard to the facts contained in the report" is an error. I understand also that the report was gone over and approved prior to its publication by Dean Stone of the Columbia Law School and, subsequent to its publication, by Mr. Francis Fisher Kane, formerly, I believe, United States District Attorney in Philadelphia.

I have showed your letter to me to Mr. Johnson and he writes:

"I wish that, if you think it proper to do so, you would add a paragraph to your letter to Mr. Trevor, stating that I am taking up with the Department of Justice the representations which he has made at the instance of the Department, and that Mr. Panunzio and I have offered to canvass very carefully any materials which they may present. It would only be fair also to point out to Mr. Trevor that it was precisely for the purpose of securing such data or alleged data that repeated efforts were made to get access to records in the Department of Justice during the course of the study."

At the time I received your letter I was reading Mr. Martin's volumes containing the letters of Mr. Choate, in one of which I think there is a reference to you. In reading those entrancing letters and the addresses of Mr. Choate and Mr. Root, which Mr. Martin quotes, one could not but reflect on the contrast between such passages as are found on pages 285 and 404 in the second volume ^{and} of some of the procedures described in Mr. Panunzio's statement.

One wonders also how Mr. Choate, or you, or I, would have felt if we and our families had passed through the experiences of some of these men whose cases have been reported, and the truth of which has not been called in question.

Undoubtedly, there is a great evil and peril needing to be dealt with. The question is as to the wisest and most effective method of dealing with it, and how to avoid injustice and lawlessness in the effort to uphold law and justice. Is it not possible that injustice and lawlessness, in the name of law, may increase the very evils which they are employed to remove?

Very faithfully yours,

President

RES-ED

26 Broadway
New York

FILING DEPT.

MAR 4 1921

609
SECRETARIES

February 22, 1921.

Dear Dr. Speer:

During the early winter months, several letters passed between you and me with reference to a report on deportation cases which I was advised the Federal Council of Churches was proposing to publish. Under date of December 11th you kindly send me a galley proof of this report, which you said you had just finished reading and which appeared to you to be "a temperate statement, based not on hearsay at all but on actual testimony taken in the various cases."

While I was not myself able to find time to read the galley proof nor the report in the form in which it was finally published, I recently asked Mr. Raymond Fosdick to do so and also to read the correspondence which has passed between you, Mr. Trevor and myself in the matter. I think it will interest you to read Mr. Fosdick's letter to me of February 10th, which I enclose herewith and which I would ask you to regard as absolutely confidential. Kindly return the letter to me when you have finished with it.

Appreciating your open-minded attitude in regard to this matter, and hoping that after my return from the South we may be able to lunch together to discuss various questions in which we are both deeply interested, I am,

Very cordially,

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

P.S.- If you so desire, I will return to you the galley proof. If you have no further use for it, kindly advise me and I will destroy it.

26 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

COPY.

FILING DEPT.

MAR 5 1921

SECRETARIES

January 8th, 1921

Dear Mr Nixon:

Your letter of December 30th is received. I have for some years been profoundly interested in promoting better relations between employers and employees generally. My interest has been stimulated, first because I felt that the industrial problem was one of the great and pressing problems of this country, if not of the world, and secondly, because as a family we are investors in many industries, and to that extent are not without a certain indirect responsibility for the industrial conditions existing in these industries. In such ways as have approved themselves to my judgment, I have from time to time, both generally and in specific instances, done what I could to improve industrial relations. I have observed the growing interest which the various churches and religious organizations have taken in this matter and have had brought to my attention the industrial platforms which some of these organizations have adopted, as well as having a general notion of the various industrial investigations which through their instrumentality have been carried on. My view as to the position which such organizations can most wisely take and the manner in which they can render the largest service in helping to solve this great problem is expressed far better than I can express it in an address, copy of which I am enclosing, delivered by President W H P Faunce, of Brown University, at a Baptist gathering held a year ago last spring. I am also enclosing a brief statement which I made at the request of the Young Women's Christian Association last summer, based, as you will see, on President Faunce's address.

Seeking, as I do, to view the industrial problem from the employers' point of view quite as much as from the employees', from the standpoint of union labor quite as much as from the standpoint of the independent worker, I have wondered whether the steps thus far taken by the denominational bodies and religious organizations have generally speaking tended to hasten the solution of this problem.

While appreciating, therefore, the invitation which you have extended to me to attend the conference which is to be held on January 15th at the Young Women's Christian Association, by reason of the views which I hold on this subject I do not feel that my presence would be of value.

Very truly,

JOHN D. ROCKWELL

Mr Justin W Nixon,
Rochester, New York.

26 Broadway
New York

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

FILING DEPT.
MAR 5 1921
607
SECRETARIES

January 7, 1921.

Dear Dr. Speer:

I thank you for your letter of January 5th, and am glad to have the further facts in regard to the newspaper clipping of which I wrote you under earlier date.

I am enclosing a copy of the reply which I am sending to Professor Nixon. While appreciating your willingness to rearrange your plans so as to meet me at the conference if I can attend it, it would seem to me better that we discuss the matter by ourselves some time at our mutual convenience. This I shall be happy to do within the next couple of weeks, and will call up your office shortly to arrange a time for a meeting.

Very cordially,

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 - 5th Avenue,
New York City.

Enc P S It occurs to me if Professor Nixon should think it wise to read Doctor Faunce's address to the conference it might prove to be helpful and suggestive.

JAN 10 1921
609

January 5th, 1921.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,
26 Broadway,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Rockefeller,

I was very glad to receive your letter of December 27th with its enclosures. The article in the New York Times to which you refer contained I think only a partial quotation of the statement in the report of the Commission on Social Service. When I was consulted about the statement I said that any such statement must be an absolutely fair and judicial statement, recognizing both the rights and the duties on either side of the issue. I understood that the statement in the form in which it was to be sent out would meet this condition.

On the general question I think I am fully in accord with the view expressed in your brief statement and in Dr. Faunce's address. It is just the view which I have urged again and again and sought to embody many years ago in a little book entitled "The Principles of Jesus", whether the problem be one of the relations of Christianity to Politics or its relations to Social and Economic problems, I think the view which you express is sound.

I presume that the difficulties arise, however, over the question of what the principle at issue is and just what it means. Again and again situations arise in which the real question is not the validity of such a principle as "Thou shalt not steal" but just what stealing is. The same perplexity arises with other principles such as loving our neighbors, and guarding the sacredness of

Mr. Rockefeller -2-

human life. I should prize very much an opportunity to talk this perplexing question over with you and to get your counsel and help.

I have just received a letter from Prof. Nixon of Rochester Theological Seminary enclosing a copy of his letter of December 30th to you, and with it a notice of a conference to be held at the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Avenue, beginning at 10:00 A.M. on January 15th to consider the question of the part of the Church in social and industrial research. I presume that this would be the very occasion on which to consider the larger question of the right relation of the Church to industrial and economic problems. I had other engagements for January 15th, but if you should find it possible to be present at this conference I would rearrange my appointments so as to be there also, and perhaps there might be a few friends whom we should each like to invite to share in the discussion. Would it be possible for you to be there. If not, I shall be glad to arrange to meet you at any other time that would suit your convenience.

It seems to me that this meeting on January 15th, however, will be a very good occasion in which to discuss this question with some of the men and women who are most interested in it, and who most need, and I have no doubt, most desire to pursue a right course with regard to it, and who seem to be the representatives of a number of our religious bodies in charge of their social service work.

I thank you also very much for your kind note of December 30th.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Very cordially yours,

res/ms

26 Broadway
New York

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

FILING DEPT.

MAR 23 1921

609
SECRETARIES

March 12, 1921.

Dear Dr. Speer:

Absence in Florida for the past two weeks has prevented my making earlier reply to your letter of February 28th. As to your request that I consent to your showing Mr. Fosdick's letter to one or two friends of the Federal Council, it has seemed to me that out of courtesy to Mr. Trevor his name should not be connected with the matter, and that there was nothing to be gained by having my name appear. I am therefore enclosing a copy of Mr. Fosdick's letter, addressed to "Dear Mr. - - -" and throughout the letter have inserted the name "Blank" instead of "Trevor." With these changes I see no objection to your showing the letter to the one or two friends of whom you speak. Will you kindly return the copy to me when you have finished with it? I thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Mr. Trevor, which is written in the kindest and most friendly spirit. I am destroying the galley proof of Mr. Panuzio's report, as you direct.

It was a source of regret to me that because of the accumulation of material which I was obliged to take South with me to read I could not arrange to read the report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook of the Church and Industrial Reconstruction, copy of which you kindly suggested sending me.

Within a few days I shall have my secretary call your office, to see if we can arrange to lunch together.

Very truly,

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Enc

J. D. Rockefeller, Jr.

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APR 30 1921
SECRETARIES



NEW YORK BOOKING OFFICE
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46th STREET & MADISON AVENUE
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CHRISTIAN S. ANDERSEN, RESIDENT MANAGER

BATH HOUSE IS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
DR FRANK HOPKINS, MEDICAL DIRECTOR
OPEN ALL THE YEAR

HOT SPRINGS, VA. April 25th, 1921

Dear Doctor Speer:

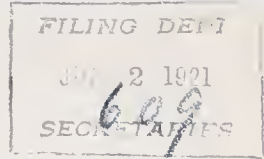
I have your letter of April 18th returning Mr Fos-
dick's letter to me of February 10th, and enclosing a printed
copy of the second report of the Merchants Association on
Industrial Relations. Please accept my thanks for this printed
report, which I am glad to have for my files.

In view of the criticisms which you told me were com-
ing to the Federal Council as a result of the hostility of the
Merchants Association of Pittsburgh, I am glad to know that you
feel a favorable reaction is now setting in, and hope the attack
made so widely and at the same time so unintelligently may soon
be forgotten.

Very truly,
John D. Rockefeller Jr.

Doctor Robert E Speer,
President, Federal Council of
The Churches of Christ in America,
105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

John S. Rockefeller, Jr.



26 Broadway
New York

Yes

May 26, 1921

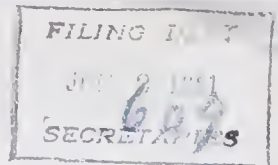
Dear Dr. Speer:

Mr. Rockefeller is wondering if you will not be kind enough to arrange to have sent to him one or two copies of the industrial creed recently adopted by the Council.

Very truly

Robert W. Gumbel

Dr. Robert E. Speer
Federal Council of Churches
of Christ in America
105 E. 22nd St., New York



May 31st, 1921

Mr. John J. Rockefeller, Jr.,
26 Broadway,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Rockefeller,

I enclose herewith as requested by your secretary several copies of the "Social Ideals of the Churches". In sending them to me to forward to you Mr. Cavert, one of the general secretaries of the Federal Council, writes:

"The form in which the 'social creed' is now printed includes the four resolutions adopted in Cleveland in 1919. The correct interpretation of these resolutions I take to be that they are not a part of the 'creed', but supplementary to it, designed to apply the 'creed's' general principles to particular issues that were then sharply before the nation. I think it rather important to make this distinction, since the four resolutions are very different in character from the sixteen articles of the 'creed' itself, all of which deal with general principles rather than specific applications."

I enclose also a leaflet containing several letters regarding the Federal Council and its relations to social and industrial problems. I am asking Mr. Cavert to send you a little leaflet which has been issued entitled "The Federal Council and Industrial Relations."

I was at our Presbyterian General Assembly last week and, as a result of a discussion with one of our Pittsburgh ministers there, I looked up past deliverances of our Presbyterian General Assembly on these questions and was amazed to find how much more conservative the utterances of the Federal Council had been than the deliverances at our own General Assembly. I think the same thing is true of the deliverances of the Methodist, Congregational, Baptist

Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr.,

- 2 -

5/3a/21

and Episcopal churches.

I should be very glad to have additional copies of any of these papers sent to you if you desire them.

Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

Enclosures.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

FILING DEPT.

JUN 14 1921

SECRETARIES

26 Broadway
New York

June 4, 1921.

Dear Dr. Speer:

I thank you for the several copies of the "Social Ideals of the Churches," and your explanatory letter of May 31st, also for the little pamphlet entitled "The Federal Council and Industrial Relations," which was received under separate cover. This I shall be glad to read at an early date.

Very truly,

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

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Samuel Tyler, D. D., President
Wm. H. Stackel, 1st Vice-President
E. A. Hanley, D. D., 2nd Vice-President
Rev. A. H. Groff, Recording Secretary
D. N. Calkins, Treasurer

Orlo J. Price
**The Rochester
Federation of Churches**

HEADQUARTERS
423-424 Cutler Building
Rochester, N. Y.

ORLO J. PRICE, D. D.
Executive Secretary

Other Members of DEPT
Executive Committee

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C. Waldo Cherry, D. D., Evangelism
Wm. H. Stackel, Finance
L. G. Morris, D. D., International
Friendship
H. P. Lansdale, Missions
R. S. Cushman, D. D., Publicity
C. A. Barbour, D. D., Religious
Education
John R. Brown, Ph. D., Social Service

June 16, 1921.

Mr. Robert E. Speer, D.D.,
Federated Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd St., New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer;

The Executive Secretaries have asked me to write you a word of appreciation for the very enlightening discussion which you gave us of the ^{significance} ~~importance~~ of the cooperative movements of our day. The men were greatly helped by what you said, and I am certain are seeing their work in a different perspective.

The fact that we have the sympathy of men of your standing and vision makes our work much easier and gives us courage for it. Nothing could have been better than to have those words come to us from the President of the Federated Council.

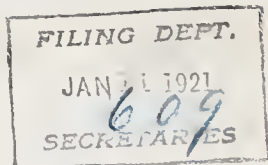
On the whole our conference was a great success, and we thank you for your share in making it so.

Very sincerely yours,

OJP/MC

Orlo J. Price
Orlo J. Price,
Executive Secretary.

Prof James B Pratt
WILLIAMS COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.



January 1, 1921

Dr. Robert E. Spear

Federal Council of the Churches
New York City.

Dear Mr. Spear,

As I have met you at various times & places
I venture upon a personal letter, to bring to your attention
certain facts which seem to point to a good deal
of waste & inefficiency in the office of the Federal
Council of Churches, of which, I see, you are President.

Early in the autumn two letters, each containing
subscription books were sent me in the same
mail, each requiring 4cts postage and each
inclosing a stamped envelope. I sent back both
of them ~~in~~ the subscription books, in one inclosing
a check. About six weeks later I received
a third letter + subscription book + stamped
envelope, and apparent rather having been taken
of the fact that I had already contributed.
I used the envelope to draw & return the

WILLIAMS COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

book & draw the attention of the office to the
waste of postage. About three weeks ago I
received a fourth letter of the same sort, with
a fourth subscription book. This made me
feel so strongly the waste of money on postage
& printing owing to somebody's inefficiency
that I wrote a letter to Mr. Burnett about it.
(returning the subscription book)

This ~~is~~ Yesterday morning I found a fifth letter.

which I enclose - this time fortunately without
book or envelope enclosed. Altogether 26 cents
in stamps have been spent for me, and
I don't know how much in printing and
clerical service; most of it after I had made
my contribution. If my case is typical
there must be many of us who are determined
(as I am) to give no more to an organization that
wastes so much of the public's contributions.

Very truly yours,

James B. Brett (Professor of Philosophy in
Wellesley College)

DR. ROBERT E. SPEER
PRESIDENT
REV. E. B. SANFORD
HONORARY SECRETARY
REV. RIVINGTON D. LORD
RECORDING SECRETARY
ALFRED R. KIMBALL
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CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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SECRETARIES
REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
ASSOCIATE SECRETARY
CLARENCE L. BURNET
FINANCIAL SECRETARY

December 29, 1920

Mr. James B. Pratt
Williamstown, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Sometime ago a letter telling something of the work of the Federal Council was mailed to you.

A subscription book was enclosed in this letter, which as yet has not been returned. I presume that this book may have been laid aside and forgotten.

The Members of the Finance Committee are very anxious to secure \$9,000 more in contributions within the next three weeks, and they are confident that you will be pleased to help them in this work which is doing so much for Protestantism in America.

Assuring you that any contribution will be gratefully received, I am

Yours very sincerely,

C. L. Burnet
Financial Secretary

RECORDS DEPT.
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SECRETARIES

January 4, 1920.

Prof. James B. Pratt,
Williams College,
Williamstown, Mass.

My dear Prof. Pratt,

I thank you sincerely for writing as you have done with regard to the most careless and unwarranted letters of solicitation which have come to you in the name of the Federal Council. I have only just come into the Presidency of the Council and have already had a number of complaints with regard to these letters. I have taken the matter up with Dr. Macfarland and shall do so again. The justification which Dr. Macfarland and Mr. Burnett have given has been, first, the financial necessity, and second, the large favorable result of Mr. Burnett's solicitations. Neither of these considerations, however, justifies the duplication and waste of which you have had experience, and to the extent that such waste exists it must of course forestall the very purpose they have in view. No doubt such an exaggerated experience as this is very unusual, but it ought not to occur at all, and I shall certainly do the best I can to prevent it, and also to secure a change in the financial methods of the council.

I trust that the Cause which the Federal Council represents may not lose your sympathy because of this experience. The need of such an agency as the Federal Council is clearer than ever, and there are many of us who hope that by wise and patient effort it may become an instrument of great service to the Churches in their cooperative work.

Prof. Pratt -2-

May I take this occasion to thank you for all the help that I have got from your books. My neighbor, Dr. Sailer, of Teachers College, and I, have often talked over your book on the Religions of India, and he has just given me at Christmas time your last book which I hope to read soon.

With grateful appreciation of all that you are doing in behalf of the philosophical ideas that make the Christian conception possible, I am,

Very faithfully yours,

res/ms

Willis R. Perry

MAILING DEPT.

JUN 27 1921

37 East 58th Street,
New York, N. Y.
SECRETARIES
June 4, 1921.

Dr. Robert E. Speer, Pres't,
The Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America,
105 East 22d St., New York, N. Y.

Sir:

Recently I submitted to Dr. Downey of the Methodist Book Concern some suggestions relative to the publication of an inter-church paper for the promotion of practical Christianity, Humanity, Civilization, Education, Common Sense, Honesty, Good-fellowship, Good-citizenship, 100% Americanism, &c.

The Doctor expressed himself as being entirely in sympathy with my views, but he explained why it would be impracticable for his organization or his denomination to take up the matter actively. It is at his suggestion that I am giving you a hint of what is in my mind.

It is my contention that present-day conditions--social, industrial, commercial, political, moral--are plainly detrimental to life and liberty, health and happiness, safety and sanity, peace and prosperity; that these conditions are attributable, in the final analysis, to human selfishness, greed,

lust, perversity, dishonesty, treachery, and so on ad infinitum, ad nauseam; that they can be corrected only by persuasive and coercive education of the people, particularly the young men and women; and that, in the absence of any other organized public agency for the prosecution of this work, it seems to be incumbent upon the Christian Protestant Church.

I believe that the Church is losing ground fast, and that it can regain and maintain popularity only by rendering less conspicuous its purely religious function and addressing itself largely to practical ministration covering all the legitimate needs of Mankind. I am not a strongly religious man, but I am a strong believer in practical Christianity as epitomized in Matthew VII:12-- otherwise the "Square Deal". It seems to me that a periodical publication, sponsored by the Protestant churches coöperatively and devoted to intimate personal service, would assist greatly in bringing order out of chaos and effecting an equitable adjustment of all human inter-relationships.

One of my several worthy ambitions is to have an active part in the editorial and mechanical application of my ideas to a substantial enterprise, and I feel that I have enough education and pertinent technical knowledge to warrant such an aspiration. Does the suggestion interest you?

Respectfully yours,

Willis R. Perry

(Mrs.) E E Olcott February 5

FILING DEPT

FEB 10 1921

SECRETARIES

RECEIVED

FEB 7 1921

Dear Mr. Spicer:

Yours of Feb. 2nd

was duly received, and contents carefully noted, but I really feel that I do not know enough about the matters presented to give any worth while counsel, and I have no considerable sum of money that I could return to the Federal Council, if I could - My income

is scarcely more than half
of what it was a few years
ago - and I feel that my
first duty is to my own
Church and denomination,
for the R. C. A. - is small -
and there are few large
givers, and big defects ^{from last year} -
You may be interested
in seeing the number of
appeals in this week's
Church Calendar, which
I am enclosing - and
to-morrow we take our
offering for the China
Famine! I am trying
to raise money at present

for three different funds -
and I must perforce turn
a deaf ear to many other
worthy appeals -

But I am glad to send
you one hundred dollars
for your Federal Council -
while wishing I had
much more to give -
This does not need any
acknowledgment -

Very cordially yours -
Kate V. S. Elliott

FILING DEPT.

1921
617
SECRETARIES

February 8th, 1921.

Mrs. E. E. Olcott,
322 W. 75th Street,
N.Y. City.

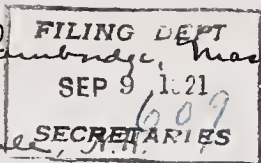
My dear Mrs. Olcott,

Your very kind letter of the 5th is just received with its generous response to my appeal. I can imagine how many calls come to you, and they multiply year after year. It is more than generous of you to answer so cordially this call from the Federal Council. It is getting lots of raps now from people who think it is trying to bring the Kingdom of God prematurely, and no doubt there is danger always of unwise efforts even to do good, but I do believe that real good is being done, and that we must all of us lay hold of such an agency as this, and use it in the very best way for that cause of cooperation and united effort in which we so earnestly believe.

Very cordially yours,

res/ms

Alberton Hayes
Mailing address: 134 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.



RECEIVED

AUG 31 1921

Mr. Alberton Hayes

Dublin, N.H.
Aug. 22, 1921

I was very glad to receive your recent letter, and hope we can take this matter up again on your return. This little "conference" that we have thus far had has gratified me because it has made me feel that we may come to some agreement. You are quite right in thinking that I am thinking of nothing that will "make the supremacy of the principle of Truth" I think, indeed, that it will mightily strengthen that. From that high standard I will abate not one jot nor one tittle.

— But the discussion must wait. I hope your nine months in the Orient will be productive of all that you can now expect — and much more!

Cordially yours,

Alberton Hayes

SEP 9 1921

SECRETARIES

RES/MS

August 8th, 1921.

Mr. Atherton Noyes,
134 Brabble Street, (Brabble?)
Cambridge, Mass.

My dear Mr. Noyes,

I had meant to write long ago in acknowledgment of your kind letter of March 26th but many things have had to go undone, and now I am just leaving for an eight or nine months' absence in the Orient, and many other things in which I should like to have had a part here at home must go over until I can get back.

I do thank you heartily for your letter, and I believe with you that very great changes have been taking place in the Unitarian body, and I trust that these changes may continue, but I do not see that those of us who believe in the Deity of our Lord in the sense and of the fundamental importance in which we hold it can do anything that would appear to compromise that conviction. What does not mean that there is not room for a great deal of cooperation of many kinds in advance of anything that has been attempted hitherto, but I do believe that we shall lose, and not gain if in any way we weaken the supremacy of the principle of Truth. I know that you have no thought of doing this, but I know also the intensity of feeling on the part of evangelical Christians with regard to any risk of their appearing to trifle with what they believe to be the most central and vital and significant of all the facts in the world.

I shall look forward with pleasure to the possibility of seeing you sometime after I get back, and to talking with you fully about the matters of which we have written.

Very cordially yours,

Atherton Hoyes

134 Brattle St.

Cambridge Mass.

FILING DEPT.
SEP 9 1921
609
SECRETARIES

Dear Mr. Spear,

Mar. 26, 1921

Not "a minister and the son of a minister," - but just the "son of a minister." I am plain pedagogue, a former col-
league of Lile and Parsons in Colorado College, and now, having resigned there, settled in Cambridge.

I have had to await a convenient season to answer your letter of 2/16. But during all these days when I could not write, I have been looking forward to the day when I could. That is the feeling that your letter evoked. It is going to be a great pleasure to talk to you and with you regarding this matter for which we both care so much.

Let me frankly admit the full seriousness of the difficulty you name. Here are two religious bodies which teach opposing doctrines. But in my conception we are somewhat in danger of losing our perspective in this situation. Behind these differences there are mighty re-
semblances: each of these bodies is engaged as it best can, in its own way and according to its best light, in an ef-
fort to lift the hearts of men to God and, so doing, to change the character of all social and political groups, from small-
est to largest. The law of love, the law of God is to pre-
vail. This common aim and desire is of enormous significance; the difference, admittedly great, - at least of less importance. Conceivably, too, it may grow to be ac-
tually less, and a movement, the contrary of that of a hundred years ago, begins unless I fail to read the signs, it has begun. But at any rate a fundamental similarity of purpose rules us both.

When, therefore, I think of the great influence and power
the Federal Council has come to wield, and know that
one considerable body of people who love God and are try-
ing to do his will are debarred—whether through their own
fault or not doesn't really matter— from participation in
its counsel and its work, then seems to me to be some-
thing wrong in Denmark. The Federal Council is, essen-
tially, the Church organized to make the world its parish.
The mind fails to grasp the possibilities that lie within
that fact. But the aspects of a problem of such colossal
dimensions are not the comparatively simple ones of the
individual church society. They need restatement in terms
that take account of this enormously extended field and
the different character of the work involved; and in that re-
statement, chief emphasis will not fall on sectarian dogma
or creed, but on the basic principles of love of God and
of one's neighbor, and on Jesus as the Supreme inter-
preter of God to man, faithful to his mission even to
his death on the cross. And so, greatly as the Church,
through the Federal Council, has risen to this great
opportunity, I cannot help feeling that our "sys-
tem," our "organization," has not quite kept pace
with our growth; that in the particular matter un-
der discussion, there is still something parochial about
the way in which we are attacking a world problem.
If I am right, that means that there are resources,
treasuries, fountains of wisdom, whoso that we
have not tapped, and that our attainment to-day,
dumfounding as it is, is not as great as it might
have been.

In this country alone, I am told, there are 65 millions
of men who adhere to no church. Within our own confines,
then, there is crying need of missionary enterprise. But

judging the world as we know it, it is safe to say that large numbers of these people, especially in this day of "freedom" may be won by a "liberal" creed and cannot be by any other. You speak of the worship of Christ as God as fundamental and essential. I wonder if it is, in this large view of the work of the church as the one chief stay of civilization. Jesus spoke of himself as the "way" — and named the first and great commandment, and the second. — For the purpose of winning men to love him and through him to love God, and so to serve God, is not this enough? It seems to me to be so; and it seems to me that to ask more as a basis of cooperation is to limit our attainment; for in some degree we shall be working singly, and not unitedly.

Phillips Brooks sensed all this long ago. I came across, recently, an old notebook of mine of the early nineties. It contained the following statement of P. B. regarding the doctrine of the Trinity: "What is Christ? First, he is the utterance of the eternal righteousness, the setting forth before men of that supreme nature in which is the source and pattern of all goodness — God; second, he is a man of clear, definite character, who lived a life in Palestine which still shines with a distinctness that no other human life can rival; third, by his spirit he is a perpetual presence, a constant standard and inspiration in the heart of every man who loves and trusts him. All these things come up to me when I say Christ."

This is the doctrine of the Trinity explained for every man's comprehension, and couched in

firmly that command instant assent. The truth of the doctrine shines forth, for all mysticism is taken out of it and it is seen to be a simple statement of self-evident fact, true supremely of Jesus, true also of every man who loves God; for he, too, is an expression of the eternal righteousness, he lives, as Jesus did, a man among men, and where he dies, his spirit abides, to comfort and to bless. I sent this to Dr. Crothers. He accepted it as willingly as I did.

You ask whether I think there is no need of intellectual argument or common conviction as a basis for cooperation. Perhaps I have answered that fully enough; — but one more word. The Unitarians are going our way, as is the Salvation Army; and like the Salvation Army, they can do certain things that we cannot do. And in doing it, they multiply the good in the world enormously. They will be a more valuable aid, however, when they can work in acknowledged conjunction with us. And they want it — they want it. I have heard Dr. Crothers speak with a touch of real sadness in his tone, saying of the F. C. that the Unitarians "were not thought good enough to be admitted there." There is a "hurt" feeling in that that shows how much he cares. Perhaps you know that Unitarians are active in the Mass. Fed. of Churches — Dr. Eliot is on the Board — and in the Camb. U. W. Dr. Crothers was, perhaps is, on the Mass. Fed. Board. Could any Board fail

to do better work when it had the wisdom and the influence of such men to support its labors? Why should this "conjunction" of forces be any less efficacious for the great work of bringing the love of Christ and God home to the hearts of men the country over than it is in these narrower confines of city and state?

I intimated above that I saw some signs of a change in the feeling among Unitarians. They are finding out that their inclination has been too strongly to an "intellectual religion," that they have not sufficiently cultivated the emotional side. One of the prominent women of the church here said that in a meeting at which Mrs. Sam Eliot was present, and it was accepted by all. The same woman told me a few days ago that Jesus was coming to mean more to her than ever before, and Dr. Crothers preached recently a noble sermon which centered in him. I look back, too, to the Congregational Church in Concord, Mass., where, within my time Rev. Jas. B. Esq., Rev. W. W. Ranney, and (now) Rev. Fred Steff have been the ministers. That church would be called "broad," though it really harbors many shades of belief. Unitarians attended it regularly, until some one, ill-advisedly, I think, gave funds to build a small Unitarian church, which has maintained a rather difficult existence ever since. My point is that there is a pretty wide divergence of belief among the denominations enrolled in the U. C. — witness the Cong. Ch. then, e.g. and the Church of the Advent in Boston; and that this divergence would appear in a probably still more marked way if one could trace the beliefs of individuals. It must be true in many churches of the broad type, as it is of the Cong. Ch. in C. S., that church membership is not an essential road to participation

in the Communion Service. The invitation is regularly given to all who love Jesus and desire to follow in his steps; and there is doubtless a goodly number of people who take this first pronounced step in the Christian life by this quick expression and dedication of themselves. I know somewhat better when my boy of 16 stands because last summer he accepted such an invitation in a little village church in New Hampshire. But in my belief it will not be beyond our compassing to bring Unitarian churches, before so very long, to teach their members to become conscious "followers" of Jesus. Their present statement says "in the spirit of Jesus." That is not quite the same thing; and from my present observation point, from within, the difference is just what they need in order to bring into their "religion" the quality of emotionalism that they are beginning to recognize they need, and that can come to them only through a conscious loyalty to the person of Jesus. It is my belief that we can help them to that, and that if we can cultivate - perhaps slowly, but increasingly - a feeling of fellowship because of what we do share in common, the good results that will follow in due time will be beyond anything that we can measure now. I know, somewhat in fact, still better in imagination, the difficulties that lie in the way. There is narrow-mindedness on the part of Unitarians - the lady I quoted twice above admitted with utmost frankness that there was no one more difficult to deal with than a man who was narrow-minded in his "liberalism"; and on our side, among some denominations especially there is a feeling so intense against Unitarianism that the way will not be easy to bring to pass the kind of thing I am suggesting. That is why I am so glad to have had this opportunity to talk myself out to you, and the more because I can see plainly in your words and between your

"In the love of truth and in the spirit of Jesus, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man."

lines your "earnest desire - - - to pursue the most brotherly and comprehensive view that is possible." And if you can find anything helpful in the views here presented, it lies in your power, probably far more than you yourself would be willing to admit, gradually, tactfully to bring things to pass. Please do not let me seem to presume that you will find suggestion of practical value. This is ^{simply} my best effort to give a little help to accomplish something that, personally, I think would be a great step forward. But it must stand or fall on its worth.

You "see - - room for many kinds of relationship and cooperation," but ask, "How can churches as churches unite, which differ as fundamentally as those churches which affirm or deny the deity of Christ," and further, whether I can see how it could be done from either side.

I am naturally not hoping for something to be done "out of hand" - some appointment of committees, some conscious effort, officially, to get together. That would be the wisest, really. It will be a delicate matter to change so wide a public opinion as is now actively hostile (in some cases) to Unitarians. The lady quoted above told me of someone calling the Unitarians "a menace" recently; and added, quietly, without trace of resentment; "That isn't true; we are not a menace." The incident, however, shows what the spurs for a change would be up against. Happily for me and my views, I know, through casual intercourse of several prominent members of the Cong. Ch who are in hearty sympathy with all that I have here said, and believe there are large numbers who would cordially agree. Even if I am right, however, what is in my thought earnestly to be desired, calls for tact and patience and gentle persistence. It would begin among persons - would lead to cooperation whenever possible and would end (I should think) in some simplification on our side of the doctrine of the deity of Jesus - mark me! not as essential to membership in any church group which desires to hold to that, but as the broadest platform upon which those must stand who desire to enter such a world-wide League of the Church as the Federal Council through its world-wide activity is growing to be. The difficulty seems to me not to be inherent in the situation, but in men's feelings about the situation. I can provide you with pictures and regarding what has been done in the U.S. But, should you by chance

not be fully informed; and those facts give me large ground for hope that what has been successfully done on this narrow scale here, can be done on the Federal scale, too. It would not surprise me if it might come about as a natural evolution if directive influences should become favorable to that.

Cardially yours,

Arthur H. Hays

Thomas Nicholson

re: C. A. Barbour

FILING DEPT

JAN 14 1921

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SECRETARIES

January 13, 1921.

Bishop Thomas Nicholson, D.D.,
58 East Washington St.
Chicago, Ill

My dear Bishop Nicholson,

I have just received from Dr. Anderson a copy of the report of Progress made by your reorganization committee, and have read it with very great interest. You have had a most difficult task, and I have admired the loyalty with which you have carried out your trusteeship for the Interchurch Movement. I don't wonder that you felt that Mr. Cavert's suggestions and mine represented some sensitiveness. They did. And you know how great the sensitiveness is with some of the bodies with regard to the Movement in view of their underwriting payments. The feelings of some of these groups, as you have intimated in the first page of the report are very deep and positive, and all of us who have been trying honestly and carefully to conserve the good of the past, and to hold together the forces which feel very deeply aggrieved have been obliged to watch every act and word that we may do only that which will be really promotive of the strength and unity of the cooperative movement.

The nominating committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council has approached President Clarence A. Barbour of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Rochester with reference to his coming into the secretaryship of the Council. I have had several conferences with him and many of us are hoping and praying that he will accept. He seems to be the acceptable person in every quarter, and to have just the temper and the training which are needed in this emer-

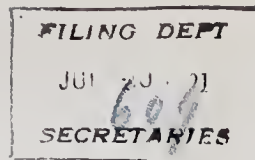
Drs Nicholson -2-

gency. Could you find time to write to him the strongest letter you can, urging upon him the critical importance and greatness of this opportunity, and urging his acceptance if indeed this is, as it seems to us to be, God's call to him.

Very cordially yours,

res/ms

Reinhold Niebuhr
BETHEL EVANGELICAL CHURCH
LINWOOD AND LOTHROP AVENUES
DETROIT, MICH.



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PAUL JANS
CHARLES MERCKEL
CHARLES RAPP

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, PASTOR
878 LOTHROP AVENUE
PHONE WALNUT 3017-W

March 7, 1921.

Dr Robert E Speer,
New York City.

My Dear Dr Speer:

Thank your for your kind letter in answer to our request for some more definite attempt to establish friendly relationships with the churches of Germany. I have written Dr Cavert, who informed me of the attitude of the secretarial council, at some length in this matter. I trust absolute^{ly} in both your judgement and in your fairness and as long as the question has your attention I do not care to press it further.

I feel however that I must tell you what led to our request. The words of the committee on message did seem to us to imply a promise that out to be fulfilled, particularly because there was a strong sentiment in the Boston meeting, not at all confined to churches of German origin, that something more specific than a letter to all the churches of Europe ought to be sent to the German churches. This sentiment was defeated by all kinds of considerations of expediency that did not seem worthy of the Federal Council. I can not help but mention, though it may seem too personal, that one of the things that disquieted us greatly was the suggestion of Dr McFarland that such a letter ought not to be sent because it would only be countered by the Germans with a request for aid in securing the return of their missions. This suggestion was repudiated among others in the business committee by Dr Anthony who, I am sure, had no special interest in the matter but his desire to see the right thing done.

The plight of the German missions is a sore spot in parts of our church and the suspicion that this consideration is responsible for any hesistancy on the part of the Council to take action is naturally of grave concern to those of us who would like to see the prestige of the Council grow in our church. This represents my official interest in the question. Personally I have an interest because I should like the church to be as liberal in its spirit as labor and education in the difficult task of rebuilding the world.

Very cordially yours,

Reinhold Niebuhr

FILING DEPT.

FEB 9 1921

SECRETARIES

J R Mott

Grove Park Inn,
Asheville, N. C.,
January 25, 1921.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Robert:-

I am eager to learn about your most important meeting on January 21. It has been much in my thought, and, I am glad I can say, even more in my prayers. I would appreciate it if you would, at your convenience, let me have some report of developments, since last we met, including, especially, the meeting on the 21st. I am also more anxious than I can express to know of the decision of Barbour.

You will be glad to know that I have found conditions simply ideal down here in the Carolina mountains for the purpose which brought me here. I only wish that you could break away and join me for tramping trips in the mountains. I am also getting unhurried time for reading and reflection. In this connection, I want to thank you for bringing to my attention the book of President Tucker. I agree with you that it is a really great book.

Very affectionately yours,

JRM:S

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SECRETARIES

February 7th, 1921

Dictated February 2nd.

Dr. John R. Mott,
Grove Park Inn,
Asheville, N.C.

My dear John,

We had a very good meeting on January 21st. I am asking Mr. Cavert to send you a copy of the Minutes. It ended in a most profitable discussion of some of the fundamental questions, including the question of the relation of our religious organizations to the problems which inevitably spring out of the time of industrial and economic reconstruction. The Federal Council and the Y.W.C.A. especially have come in for a great deal of attack because of their alleged radicalism on social questions. You will have heard doubtless of the letter circulated by the Manufacturers' Association in Pittsburg, in opposition to the Y.W.C.A. financial campaign there, charging the Y.W.C.A. with undermining the foundations of order and government because among other things it has advocated government employment agencies and industrial democracy! It is going to be a difficult question to find and keep just the right line, not to be carried off to wrong extremes on either side, and not to surrender to a mere compromising middle of the road spirit that evades some issues which sooner or later will be seen to be inevitable.

I am sorry to have to say that a letter from Barbour this week fore-shadows his declination. I had hoped that he would come and that we would be that much further on our way toward the constructive work that must be done. Macfarland has behaved like a true Christian man throughout. He and Cavert will

Dr. John R. Mott, #2.

go on doing everything that they can. Have you any suggestions as to where we might turn next? I begin to fear that it will not be possible to find a man already solidly settled in a influential denominational position. Probably we shall have to look out for some young man like Cavert who will grow into the place. Cavert is a treasure. He is going to prove, I think, one of the strongest intellectual forces we shall have. His book on the Church and Industrial Reconstruction is winning praise everywhere and is a notable piece of work.

I trust that you are getting some real rest and gaining every day.

I am sorry that Mrs. Mott has not been able to join you and trust that it may not be long before she can go down.

Ever affectionately yours,

RES:C.

FILING DEPT

MAR 28 1921

SECRETARIES

March 21, 1921.

Mr. W. Fellows Morgan,
Arch 11,
Brooklyn Bridge, N.Y.C.

My dear Mr. Morgan,

Dr. Macfarland told me of his correspondence with you with regard to Mr. Pannzio's report on some of the deportation cases, and I thought you might be interested in copies of two letters bearing on the subject, one a letter of mine to Captain John B. Trevor, who had criticized the issuance of this report, and another a copy of a letter from Raymond D. Fosdick to a friend of his and of mine, with regard to the report. I have asked this friend whether I might show Mr. Fosdick's letter to one or two people, and he has assented, and he told me that he was entirely satisfied with Mr. Fosdick's letter and my letter to Mr. Trevor. Will you please return Mr. Fosdick's letter when you have read it?

I have read with the greatest satisfaction and approval the statement just issued by the Merchants' Association entitled "Cooperation Cure for Industrial Disturbance". I wish this might be published as a little leaflet; it will do a great deal of good.

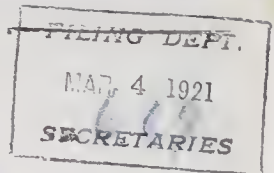
With warm regard,

Very faithfully yours,

res/ms

Copy

February 23, 1921



Mr. John B. Trevor
11 East 91st Street
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Absences from the city have prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your letter of January 22d with regard to Mr. Panunzio's report on certain deportation cases.

I am not competent to answer your comments on the several cases where you believe the statements to be inadequate or inaccurate. I believe that Mr. Panunzio and Mr. Johnson, however, are ready to take up any of the statements made in the report at any time and either to establish them or correct them.

Mr. Johnson tells me that he informed you that the statement "that no inquiry was made at the Department of Justice in regard to the facts contained in the report" is an error. I understand also that the report was gone over and approved prior to its publication by Dean Stone of the Columbia Law School and, subsequent to its publication, by Mr. Francis Fisher Kane, formerly, I believe, United States District Attorney in Philadelphia.

I have showed your letter to me to Mr. Johnson and he writes:

"I wish that, if you think it proper to do so, you would add a paragraph to your letter to Mr. Trevor, stating that I am taking up with the Department of Justice the representations which he has made at the instance of the Department, and that Mr. Panunzio and I have offered to canvass very carefully any materials which they may present. It would only be fair also to point out to Mr. Trevor that it was precisely for the purpose of securing such data or alleged data that repeated efforts were made to get access to records in the Department of Justice during the course of the study."

At the time I received your letter I was reading Mr. Martin's volumes containing the letters of Mr. Choate, in one of which I think there is a reference to you. In reading these entrancing letters and the addresses of Mr. Choate and Mr. Root, which Mr. Martin quotes, one could not but reflect on the contrast between such passages as are found on pages 285 and 404 in the second volume and some of the procedures described in Mr. Panunzio's statement.

One wonders also how Mr. Choate, or you, or I, would have felt if we and our families had passed through the experiences of some of these men whose cases have been reported, and the truth of which has not been called in question.

Undoubtedly, there is a great evil and peril needing to be dealt with. The question is as to the wisest and most effective method of dealing with it, and how to avoid injustice and lawlessness in the effort to uphold law and justice. Is it not possible that injustice and lawlessness, in the name of law, may increase the very evils which they are employed to remove?

Very faithfully yours,

President.

RES:ED

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

FILING DEPT.

Baptist Churches, North
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Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
in North America
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches

Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Evangelical Association
Lutheran Church, General Synod
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church

Colored M. E. Church in America
Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commissions on
Christian Unity and Social Service

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Episcopal Church
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
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United Evangelical Church
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OFFICE OF
ROBERT E. SPEER, PRES.

January 25, 1921

Dr. B. E. P. Prugh,
Harrisburg, Pa.

Dear Sir:

It is a privilege, on behalf of the Federal Council, to thank you for the aid which you have so generously given in the past to its work.

Representing the thirty denominations in the Council, five hundred delegates were present at the recent quadrennial meeting in Boston, and it was clear to them that the need for cooperative effort and the desire of the Churches to join in such effort in a wise and effective way were never greater than they are to-day. They voted unanimously that:

"The Council believes that the time has come for fuller action on its part in the fulfillment of the purpose of its establishment 'for the prosecution of work that can be better done in union than in separation.' The Council instructs the Executive and Administrative Committees to plan the work of the Council in accordance with this view, ever having in mind its duly defined field of constitutional action and taking such steps as will maintain the closest possible relationships between it and the constituent denominations."

In accordance with these instructions from the Churches, the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Council are planning the work for the new year. The present work will be organized in simpler form, if possible, and will be carried forward. Closer and more mutually supporting relations, it is hoped, will be developed between the Council and the various inter-board agencies which relate to one another the missionary and educational boards of the Churches such as the Foreign Missions Conference and the Home Missions Council. Special effort will be made to strengthen, by conference and cooperation, the work of the Churches in the fields of evangelism, Christian education and human service; and the Council's Committee on Methods of Cooperation reported at Boston thus:

"There are also other concrete needs not now provided for in the Council's agencies which in our judgement call for some provision, either directly by the Federal Council or indirectly through it by related cooperative agencies. These include (1) the friendly and mutually assisting integration of the denominational promotional or forward movements; (2) the provision of some board or committee of forethought and outlook which will study and plan for us all, with no administrative authority, but to suggest approaching needs and the requisite preparations to meet them; (3) some adequate arrangement for supplying information and interpretation regarding the work and activities of the churches; (4) an adequate, continuous, and wisely directed endeavor of all our forces in behalf of a more general acceptance of true principles of stewardship both of money and of life; (5) some facilities for the general relationship of

Dr. Spear B. E. P. Prugh

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FEB 10 1921
SECRETARIES

all Christian organizations and activities of women which would provide them with a common meeting ground and clearing house and make the facts of their work and relationships accessible to the churches; (6) some central study of the problem of lay activities in the churches and some helpful inter-relation of the denominational efforts to deal with this problem; (7) the promotion of 'works of serving love,' of those deeds of mercy and benevolence in which Christians unite and which powerfully express their common faith."

To meet the greatly increased needs of the year the Council voted to approve a budget of \$300,000. It will be many months and in some cases years before action can be taken on this proposal by the Denominational Assemblies. Some of them may possibly take the view that their contributions should continue to come from individual members. Ultimately it is hoped that the denominations, as such, will provide all the expense of their cooperative work, but that end cannot be attained now and the Council must not only continue to rely on the help of those who believe in the principles which it represents but it must ask their immediate and increased assistance to meet the increased task.

We trust you may be able to increase the subscription you sent a year ago. The Council would prize also any suggestion from you as to its work in the service of the cooperating denominations, and especially now it asks for your prayers that it may press forward wisely and that it may not lag behind God's will and the purpose of the Churches.

Very faithfully yours,

Robert Spear,

President.

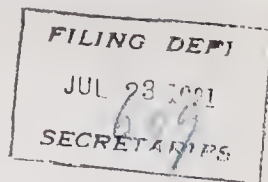
P.S. Checks may be made payable to Alfred R. Kimball, Treasurer, 105 E. 22d St., New York City.

JS

Dear Bro -- I shall contribute in the future as in the past to certain worthy projects which you further as a Council, but I feel, as many others, that the Council frequently sets too much as a "super church court", which it was never intended to be.

Sincerely

B. E. P. Prugh



July 20th, 1921

The Rev. John M. Moore, D.D.,
Marcy Avenue Baptist Church,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Moore,

I was very glad to have the little chat with you at Silver Bay and trust that you may have a good summer and then a good year. I enclose herewith two papers with regard to our relations with the Lutheran Brethren. One is the report of their Executive Board of the Committee which attended the Council Meeting in Boston, the other is the action at our Administrative Committee at its last meeting.

Since seeing you at Silver Bay, I have had a talk with Dr. Knobel. He outlined 8 or 9 specific activities in which he thought the United Lutheran body could cooperate with the Council. They were as follows:

1. The study of unity.
2. General service.
3. Declarations on matters of public concern.
4. General conference and exchange of views on departmental plans.
5. General relief for stricken peoples.
6. General publicity.
7. Assembling and publishing church statistics.
8. Educational development.
9. The question of railroad rates and transportation for clergy, etc.

I told him that this was a longer list than I had prepared. It seemed to me that they could cooperate in -

1. General Conference and plans.
2. The promotion of the idea of the need of religious education.
3. In the determination of policies and the work of mercy and relief, in the field of international justice and good-will.
4. In the work of the Commission on Relations with the White and Negro Churches.
5. In the whole chaplain work.
6. In publicity work.
7. In local cooperation.

I trust that you can have a conference with Dr. Knobel early in the fall. It would seem to me to be well if you and Dr. William Adams Brown, and perhaps Dr. North and Mr. Cavert could sit down together.

Dr. Crossfield came to see me after I got back from Silver Bay with much anxiety over the financial situation. I enclose a copy of the letter which I wrote him afterwards.

Dr. J.M.Moore,#2.

I trust that you will give Mr. Crossfield an encouraging word now and then and any helpful lift that you can in this matter.

Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

FILING DEPT

MAR 14 1921

Leonard C. Pitt SECRETARIES

*Assistant Secretary
The Finance Company of Penna.
Philadelphia*

FILING DEPT.
MAR 8 1921
SECRETARIES

March 7th, 1921.

Mr. B. G. Moore,
C/o B. S. Janney & Co.,
119 Market St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Mr. Moore,

I remember with great pleasure the evening with you and the Sons of Delaware in Philadelphia. I have turned over the \$100. handed me by Mr. Dill, to Mr. Alfred H. Kimball, Treasurer of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and am asking him to send a formal receipt to Mr. Dill.

The Federal Council is, I believe, one of our most necessary Christian agencies now, and if any time you want to help a good Cause and advance the cooperative work of the Churches, I don't think you can do better than aid the Federal Council. I enclose a copy of a report with regard to the whole situation of the cooperative work of the Churches which was presented at the meeting of the Federal Council in Boston in December, which I think will interest you.

Very cordially yours,

res/ms

B. G. Moore

B.G. MOORE, PRESIDENT

MAR 15 1921

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Philadelphia, March 9, 1921

15

My Dear Dr. Spear:-

I feel indebted to you for writing me such a nice letter. I assure you we are only too glad to turn that amount of money over to you to do what you please with for your very exceptional part you took in our affair for the Sons of Delaware, and when I get straightened out for this year and started in for the next, I will keep in mind, as I told Dr. Mitchell today, what you said about this, and he agreed with me there was nothing in the whole line of church work that was more potent in its work than the Federal Council, for he went on to say that during the War it was the only thing we had to lean on as to what to do on the other side.

I felt after listening to your address I would like to sit down and ask you some things, for your thought and mine run exactly the same. I contend that we cannot exist in this country by ourselves, and that we have missed an opportunity that will take a long time to get back, and I still fear we are going to suffer in the end more than a lot of us are calculating on.

With the very highest regards for you and your work,
I am,

Very cordially,

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1921
Spear

MS

S. F. McGill

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
OF NORTH AMERICA
D. F. MCGILL, D. D., LL. D., CLERK
317 HOME AVE.
BELLEVUE, PA.

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MAY 20 1921
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SECRETARIES

April 11, 1921.

BELLEVUE, PA.,

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Speer:-

Our General Assembly will be in session in the First Church, Philadelphia, May 25--June 1, 1921; and I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to address us in the interest of the Federal Council.

There are many reasons why I am anxious to have you do this, but I will say frankly ~~th~~ that among them is the fact that we have a good many men who are open to conviction, but greatly in need of being persuaded that it is our duty as a denomination to appropriate to the Federal Council annually a sum that is almost equal to the cost of a General Assembly.

Our people have confidence in you, and if any one can persuade them, you are the man. A good many are asking whether it were better to give \$4,000 to the Federal Council, or to Foreign Missions. I hope you will be able to come and give us light. The date when it would perhaps be most convenient to hear you would be Thursday afternoon, May 26, say about three o'clock. But if this time does not suit you, and you could come at any other time during the sessions of the Assembly, I will gladly make a place for you on the program.

Hoping that you may be able to speak to us,
I am

Sincerely your brother,

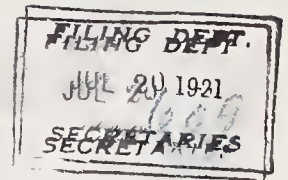
S. F. McGill

Wm. J. Manning

Diocese of New York

SYNOD HOUSE

AMSTERDAM AVENUE AND 110TH STREET



RECEIVED
JUN 17 1921
Mr. Speer

June 16, 1921.

The Reverend
Robert E. Speer D.D.
105 East 22nd Street.

My dear Dr. Speer:

Your letter has only just come into my hands, inviting me to dine with you on Friday evening, or to take part in a Conference at some other hour on Friday, on the question of Christian Unity.

I wish very greatly that I could do this, but it is quite impossible for me to arrange it. During these first weeks in my new office, you can I am sure imagine what the demands are upon every hour of my time. I am sorry to say that at the time in the month of July which you name, I expect to be absent from the city. Sometime later on I hope it may be possible for me to have such a talk as that which you suggest. You may perhaps have seen my little

book on "The Call to Unity", published by MacMillan Company. My thought on the question, up to the present time, is expressed in that volume.

with warm regard, and trusting that your visit to India and Persia may be a fruitful one, as I have no doubt it will be, believe me,

Faithfully yours,

William J. Mannix

FILING DEPT.
JUN 17 1921
609
SECRETARIES

June 15th, 1921

The Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, D.D.,
Synod House,
Amsterdam and 110th Street,
New York City.

My dear Bishop Manning,

I am expecting to leave early in August for a visit to India and Persia, and should be very grateful if there might be an opportunity before I go away to have a talk with you with regard to the question of Christian Unity and interdenominational relationships and the ways in which working together we may hope to be able to promote the best spirit and the truest judgment in these matters. I should be very glad if Professor William Adams Brown might come with me and if in spite of the heavy burdens that you and Bishop Gailor are both carrying it might be possible for you to find a spare hour to see us. Professor Brown will be in town on Friday of this week and also on July 18th to 22nd. Is there any possibility that you would be free the Friday afternoon or evening of this week, or for some hour during the week in July when Professor Brown will be here? Is there any possibility that you are free for dinner on Friday evening, when we could meet together at the Yale Club?

I am writing also to Bishop Gailor asking him whether it would be possible for him to join us or for him to meet at any time on Friday, or if that would not prove convenient for you or for him, then, at some time in July.

With sincere regard,

Very faithfully yours,

FES:C

Kindly reply to 156 Fifth Avenue.

Arthur E. Main

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FEB 21 1921

SECRETARIES

Alfred Theological Seminary
ALFRED, N.Y.

ARTHUR ELWIN MAIN, D.D., LL.D., DEAN
DOCTRINAL AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY

Jan. 31, 1921.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
President of the Federal Council of Churches,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

3.
4.
Your letter of the 25th inst. has been read with sympathetic interest. I desire to do all I can in the way of co-operation, and also to do my utmost to have the small denomination to which I belong appreciate not only opportunity, but what seems to me to be also duty.

Since the meeting in New York of a week ago, I have had it in mind to write to you a few lines. As always you stirred our minds and hearts. I do not often care to speak in any meetings connected with the Federal Council, partly because I do not feel sure of myself in such presence, and partly because I belong to one of the very least of the tribes of Israel. But a week ago I did wish to say a few words, and tried without success to get an opportunity to speak.

I particularly desired to emphasize briefly your supremely important question: "Who is going to teach Philosophy to our young men and women?" Dr. Lawson made an incidental reference to what you said, but it seemed to me, judging from all the speakers, that the thought in your own mind, and the significance of the question, were not duly appreciated. And so I am sure that you will permit me to earnestly suggest that your Committee of Seven shall take particular pains to emphasize the need of our Christian Colleges to be thoroughly Christian. For several years it has seemed to me that for an individual, a church, or a community, or a school, to be passably Christian, is one thing, but to be a whole hearted disciple and follower of Jesus Christ is quite another.

With assurances of warm and high esteem, I am

Yours sincerely,

AEM/EIB

Arthur E. Main

James Cannon

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609
OCT 14 1925
SECRETARIES

BOARD OF MISSIONS

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

RECEIVED

706 CHURCH ST. P.O. BOX 510

NASHVILLE, TENN.

OCT 6 - 1925

October 2nd., 1925.

Mr. Speer

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions,
Fifth Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

re. Prohibition article

My dear Dr. Speer:

My friend, Mr. Thomas S. Southgate, has sent me copy of a letter which he sent you on September 23rd. Mr. Southgate is one of our leading laymen, and in the short time that I have been back in America, I think that he is voicing the very general opinion among ~~the~~ Church leaders, that the Federal Council should not permit the Country to understand that Johnson's report is sent out as representing the views of the Churches. Certainly it does not represent the views of our Church. There is no desire to suppress facts. Mr. Johnson's conclusions from his very meager facts, are unwarranted, and in the endeavor to appear impartial and scientific, he has, in nearly every case, magnified the evils, and minimized the benefits of prohibition. I greatly fear the effect upon the future co-operation of our Church, unless something very positive is done.

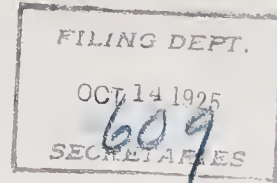
609

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

James Cannon





October 6, 1925

Bishop James Cannon, Jr.,
P.O.Box 510,
Nashville, Tennessee.

re. prohibition article

My dear Bishop Cannon:

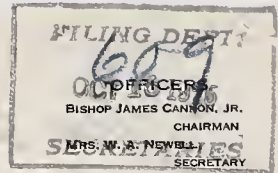
Your letter of October 2nd is just received. I have been very much concerned, as you have been, with regard to the report to which you refer, and the question with regard to the character of the report, the method of its issuance and its influence and results. Others have felt the same solicitude. The whole question was very fully discussed at the meeting of the Administrative Committee last week and again at the meeting yesterday of a committee appointed by the Administrative Committee, which is now preparing a statement regarding which I trust and understand you and Bishop Nicholson are to be consulted. I trust that by a wise handling of the whole situation real good may be achieved both within and without.

With kind regard,

Very faithfully yours,

RBS:CBW

James Cannon, Jr



COMMISSION
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*MEMBERS EX OFFICIO

COMMISSION ON
TEMPERANCE AND SOCIAL SERVICE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

51 BLISS BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Rec. 10/13/25

Oct 11 1925

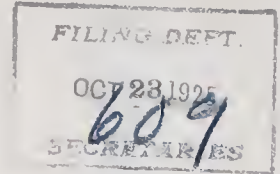
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR.
DR. W. A. LAMBETH
HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD
DR. FITZGERALD S. PARKER
DR. JOHN W. SHACKFORD

Dr. Robt. E. Speer
New York

My Dear Dr. Speer, owing to the illness of my
son I was obliged to come to Norfolk, & it will
not be possible for me to get the draft of the statement
to you Monday morning. Furthermore, since I have
studied the matter & after talking with our Executive
in Washington I am greatly concerned that the word
ing of the statement shall be so carefully selected
that there can be no possible implication that
it asserts the authorization of the report by the Ad-
ministrative Committee as representing the consti-
tuent bodies. Indeed I doubt whether it will be pos-
sible to prevent some tentative statement from be-
ing issued by our Commission to prevent some
of our Annual Conference from passing damaging
resolutions. It is being urged that Virginia do so
this coming week. - Can you and Dr. Brown meet
me Tuesday morning from 9 to 11, or 9.30 to 11.30 if I can
come to New York Monday night. I am leaving for Mexico
Tuesday night, it would be difficult for me to be in New
York later than 11.30 A.M. Tuesday. And will you or
I attempt as possible care Anti-Saloon League, Richmond,
Va, whether we could meet at that time, if not at what
time Sunday after. I am very sincerely yours
James Cannon (over)

Am closing inclosing the pamphlet
prepared as the final statement of the
"Friends of Unification"



Dictated 10/19/25

October 20, 1925

Bishop James Cannon,
c/o Commission on Temperance & Social Service of the
Methodist Episcopal Church South,
51 Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

re. article on Prohibition by Federal Council

My dear Bishop Cannon:

I note that you have gone off to Mexico and that it may be some days before this note reaches you but I cannot forbear writing it to express my warm appreciation of your large-mindedness and fidelity to all the different points of view. You have been altogether loyal to your own denominational responsibility and yet equally loyal to the interdenominational fellowship, and nobody could have seen or stated the issues in the present matter more clearly than you have done or been more ready than you to find a wise, conciliatory and constructive solution.

I am sorry not to have been here when you came up last Tuesday but am glad that you and Dr. Brown were able to carry the matter through so satisfactorily, and trust that the few changes subsequently made by the full Committee will meet with your entire approval. I think in several points they were changes which you would have advocated, and the balance of the paper has been preserved just as you desired.

With warmer regard than ever,

Your sincere friend,

RES-KC

Rec. 10/14/25

William Adams Brown

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OCT 17 1925

609
SECRETARIES

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET

NEW YORK



October 13, 1925

Dear Robert:

In your absence from your office, Bishop Cannon met with me and we went over the report of the prohibition situation in detail. He agreed to the enclosed draft, which while considerably longer than the statement which we had in mind on Friday, seems to me and to him preferable on further reflection. He will be very glad to put his name to this report and defend it before his own church.

If you approve of the report in general, will you not make any corrections which occur to you and then call the whole committee together without delay in order that it may be issued?

Yours very sincerely,

William Adams Brown

Wm. Adams Brown

Rev. Robert E. Speer, D.D.,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

*I may say that the report in the
enclosed form is almost wholly Bishop
Cannon's. I am responsible only for
a few minor additional changes.*

OCT 17 1925

SECRETARIES

In view of the widespread interest attracted by the report of the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on "The Prohibition Situation" and of the very serious misapprehensions and misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with that report, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, composed of representatives of the church bodies which are members of the Council, has authorized the following statement of its conviction as to principle and policy:

First of all the Committee would emphasize the declaration adopted by the Federal Council at its quadrennial session in Atlanta in December, 1924, as the authoritative expression of the attitude of the constituent bodies of the Federal Council concerning the prohibition law, which is as follows:

"The effect upon the physical, economic, social and moral life of the nation of this extraordinary effort of society to protect itself from the liquor traffic has been so beneficial that it is now generally agreed that the law will stand, based as it is upon the unassailable purpose 'to promote the general welfare'. The present day duty of the moral citizenship of the nation we believe to be:

1. To magnify the value of the principle of total abstinence and the obligation upon the law-abiding citizens to practice the same.
2. To make unmistakably clear to both the lawless sellers and the lawless buyers of intoxicants that the liquor traffic has been permanently outlawed in the United States as the enemy of society.
3. To urge local, state and federal governments to cooperate with increased vigor against the present organized resistance to the prohibition law until as adequate an enforcement of that law has been secured as of any other social legislation."

The Administrative Committee of the Council has seen nothing in the report of the Research Department to justify and modification whatever of this admirable authoritative declaration of the Federal Council quoted above. The policy of national prohibition, as the report shows, was adopted by the American people by the overwhelming votes of their elected legislative assemblies and reaffirmed by increasing majorities wherever it has been challenged. We would remind those otherwise good citizens who by their personal example and public utterances are lending countenance to those who violate their country's laws of the reasons which led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. It rests upon three foundations: First, the belief that in dealing with gigantic social evils like disease or crime individual liberty must be surrendered in the interest of effective social control; second, the belief that the liquor traffic is such an evil--a conviction which is gaining in strength all over the world and which has recently found official expression in the report of the special Commission on Drink of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm; third, the experience gained by a generation of experiment with substitutes which has led the advocates of temperance to conclude that only drastic federal action could bring about the eradication of the evils they were fighting. Prohibition was not a policy adopted hastily or without due consideration and it is not to be set aside merely because great difficulty or even temporary reverses are encountered in carrying it out.

The report makes clear the remarkable social gains which followed upon the enactment of the Volstead Act: a lowering of the death rate from alcoholic disease; a remarkable lessening of dependency due to alcoholism; a great reduction in drunkenness, and other results of a socially desirable sort. It also calls attention to the part undoubtedly played by prohibition in improving business and economic conditions, and above all, points out the indisputable advantage gained by the abolition of the saloon. At the same time, the report reminds us that national prohibition has not yet been given a fair opportunity fully to vindicate its great value to the physical, economic, social and moral life of the nation, and calls attention to serious dangers to which it is at present exposed.

The Federal Council of the Churches, therefore, through its Administrative Committee, heartily and unequivocally reaffirms the commitment of the Federal Council to national prohibition. The Council gratefully recognizes the splendid service which has been rendered by the special agencies which for many decades have labored incessantly to secure the adoption and the maintenance of prohibition. The Council pledges its active cooperation with all agencies which are ready to make a sustained and constructive effort to uphold the prohibition regime in order that there may be a conclusive demonstration of its merit as a national policy. It urges the friends of prohibition in other countries not to be deceived by the attempts which have been made by opponents of prohibition to interpret the report as a confession of failure or even of discouragement on the part of the Federal Council or of its constituent church bodies.

The Federal Council calls upon the churches to undertake a renewed moral crusade to strengthen the hands of those who are responsible for prohibition enforcement and in particular to give a greater measure of moral support to the newly reorganized activities of the Federal government. It urges upon all citizens who believe in prohibition the necessity of winning to the law an increasing measure of popular support. Of those who may be out of sympathy with prohibition as a social measure or who question the wisdom of the particular method by which it was adopted, it asks voluntary compliance with the law in the interest of orderly government and in order that the policy it represents may be fairly tried. It appeals for a new measure of tolerance and good will on the part of all disputants over this vitally important issue in order that the outcome of the great moral effort may be determined by reason rather than by prejudice and self interest.

Especially does the Federal Council urge upon the churches the necessity for a more adequate program of education on the moral issues involved in the traffic in drink. We strongly urge far greater attention to this problem in the church's program in religious education. In the last analysis law depends for its sanction upon the public opinion which supports it and the conscience of those who live under it. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that legislation can dispense ^{with} (us from the necessity of) training our youth in habits of temperate living, self control and the practice of Christian citizenship. To foster such habits and to cultivate such practice is the special and peculiar responsibility of the church to be ignored only at the peril of the nation.

It is our hope and conviction that the report of the Research Department on the prohibition situation, calling attention as it does to the real dangers with which we are confronted, will stir the churches to a renewed sense of their responsibility, not only for the enforcement of the prohibition law, but for rallying the conscience of the nation to its support.

*I have supplied the phrase in parenthesis which seem to me necessary for the sense of the statement. I think it must have dropped out of Bishop Cannon's draft.

William Adams Brown

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OCT 23 1925

699
SECRETARIES

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET
NEW YORK

RECEIVED

OCT 15 1925

Mr. Speer

419

October 15, 1925

re. article on Prohibition by Federal Council

Dear Robert:

The enclosed letter has just come from Bishop Cannon. I am also enclosing a copy of my reply to him.

I am very sorry that I can not be present at the meeting tomorrow, but I am passing on to you through Sam Cavert one or two suggestions for your consideration.

Yours very sincerely,

William Adams Brown

Wm. Adams Brown

Rev. Robert E. Speer, D.D.,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

Copy for Dr. Speer

FILING DEPT.

OCT 28 1925

SECRETARIES

October 15, 1925

Dear Bishop Cannon:

Thank you for your letter just received, which I am forwarding to Dr. Speer to go with the report to the full committee which is to meet tomorrow.

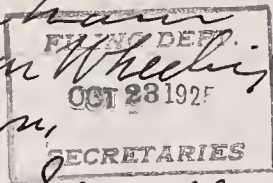
I see no objection to any of the changes which you have made with the exception of the last, namely, the insertion "will not discourage any true friends of prohibition, but that. . ." My feeling is that that would seem to admit that we have cause for discouragement because of the report, which is the very note with which I do not think we ought to end. Have we not sufficiently covered that point by the reference in our first paragraph to the misunderstandings of the report and the misuse which has been made of it? We must remember, after all, that important as the constituency which you represent is, it is not the only one, and that there is a strong constituency including friends of prohibition whose interpretation both of the teaching and of the effect of the report is different from your own.

As to the question of length, I have suggested to Dr. Speer that we preface the present statement by a brief paragraph setting forth positively our own attitude on the matter in a form which could be quoted by itself, rather than quote the statement of the Council in full. I believe that by referring to that statement, and then making the substance of its teaching our own, we could make a more rhetorically effective statement and a stronger impression of our personal commitment to the cause. I trust that if this statement should commend itself, it will not seem to you in any respect a departure from the principles on which we were agreed.

Yours very sincerely,

Wm. Adams Brown

Ortman
Near Wheeling



My dear Dr. Brown,

I am sending
page one with some mi-
nor correction. I have only
one copy of page two so can
not send any corrected copy.
I suggest the following change in
paragraph two ⁽²⁾ page two so
as to read "The Council grateful
ly recognizing the splendid ser-
vice which has been rendered by
those agencies, ~~which have been~~
specially authorized by the Church
et al, which for many decades have
labored persistent effectively
and secure etc". The statement

in the original draft - "Special
agency" is so general as to com-
mit the Council to an endorsement
of all agency - "Full Party Prohibi-
tion etc". I prefer to confine to
agency authorized or command-
ed by the Churches.

I trust that no change will be made
which will destroy the balance as
it now stands in the report. I went
somewhat beyond the views of many
in the statement in Paragraph one
Page 2: "The report makes clear" that
is true, yet many hold that other state-
ments neutralize these statements
following, & make them unclear.

Also in the last paragraph, I
should prefer to say "It is our
hope & conviction that the report
of the Research Department on the

"Prohibited Education," will not do
Compass any true friends of Prohi-
bitum but ~~is~~ that, calling attention
to an act does both real dan-
gers etc

It is too long for full pub-
lication in the secular press, but
it will secure full publication
in the religious press, which is ex-
ceedingly important. Hope the
Publicity Department will try to get
all or leading secular papers the
Associated Press especially
exact words of Atlanta decla-
ration. Kindly send copy of
final draft to Box 605
Richmond Va; it will be
forwarded. Sincerely
James Cannon

FILED COPY
OCT 21 1924

In view of the widespread interest attracted by the report of the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on "The Prohibition Situation" and of the very serious misapprehensions and misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with that report, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council composed of representatives of the constituent body - church bodies which are members of the Council has authorized the following statement of its convictions as to principles and policies:

First of all the Committee would emphasize the declaration adopted by the Federal Council at its quadrennial session in Atlanta in December 1924 as the authoritative expression of the attitude of the constituent bodies of the Federal Council concerning the prohibition law, which is as follows:

"The effect upon the physical, economic, social and moral life of the nation of this extraordinary effort of society to protect itself from the liquor traffic has been so beneficial that it is now generally agreed that the law will stand, based as it is upon the unassailable purpose 'to promote the general welfare'. The present day duty of the moral citizenship of the Nation we believe to be:

1. To magnify the value of the principle of total abstinence and the obligation upon the law-abiding citizens to practice the same.
2. To make unmistakably clear to both the lawless sellers and the lawless buyers of intoxicants that the liquor traffic has been permanently outlawed in the United States as the enemy of society; and
3. To urge local, State and Federal Governments to cooperate with increased vigor against the present organized resistance to the prohibition law until as adequate an enforcement of that law has been secured as of any other social legislation."

Administrative
The Administrative Committee of the Council has seen nothing in the report of the Research Department to justify any modification whatever of the ~~admiral~~ authoritative declaration of the Federal Council quoted above. The policy of National Prohibition as the report shows was adopted by the American people by the overwhelming votes of their elected legislative assembly and reaffirmed by increasing majorities wherever it has been challenged. We would remind those otherwise good citizens who by their personal example and public utterances are lending countenance to those who violate their country's laws of the reasons which led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. It rests upon three foundations: First, the belief that in dealing with gigantic social evils like disease or crime individual liberty must be surrendered in the interest of perfected social control; Second, ~~that~~ the belief that the liquor traffic is such an evil - a conviction which is gaining in strength all over the world and which has recently found official expression in the report of the special Commission on Drink of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm; Third, the experience gained ~~through~~ a generation of experiment with substituted ~~which~~ which has led the advocates of Temperance to conclude that only drastic Federal action could bring about the eradication of the evils they were fighting. Prohibition was not a policy adopted hastily or without due consideration and it is not to be set aside merely because great difficulty or even temporary reverses are encountered in carrying it out.

*True
been*

Statement on Prohibition

(Issued in accordance with action taken by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on October 9, 1925).

FILING DEPT.

609
MAR 29 1926

SECRETARIES

In view of the widespread interest attracted by the report of the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on the prohibition situation, and of the serious misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with that report, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, composed of representatives of the church bodies which are members of the Council, has authorized the following statement of its conviction as to principle and policy.

First of all, the Committee would emphasize its unequivocal support of national prohibition, as expressed in many public utterances and reaffirmed by the quadrennial session of the whole Council in Atlanta last December. We declare our strong conviction that the policy of prohibition is the deliberately and permanently established policy of this nation, that this policy has not failed, but on the contrary has already yielded results which fully justify its adoption, that the liquor traffic and the saloon must not come back again, and that the Churches must set themselves with new purpose to see that prohibition is enforced by law and sustained by the national conscience.

The statement adopted by the Federal Council in December, 1924, as the authoritative expression of its attitude toward the prohibition amendment, declares that "the effect upon the physical, economic, social and moral life of the nation of the extraordinary effort of society to protect itself from the liquor traffic has been so beneficial that it is now generally agreed that the law will stand, based as it is upon the unassailable purpose 'to promote the general welfare.' The present-day duty of the moral citizenship of the nation we believe to be:

"1. To magnify the value of the principle of total abstinence and the obligation upon the law-abiding citizens to practice the same;

"2. To make unmistakably clear to both the lawless sellers and the lawless buyers of intoxicants that the liquor traffic has been permanently outlawed in the United States as the enemy of society;

"3. To urge local, state and federal governments to cooperate with increased vigor against the present organized resistance to the prohibition law until as adequate an enforcement of that law has been secured as of any other social legislation."

The Administrative Committee of the Federal Council has seen nothing in the report of the Research Department to justify any modification whatever of the position thus taken by the Council on the prohibition issue. The policy of national prohibition, as the report shows, was adopted by the American people by the overwhelming votes of their elected legislative assemblies. This policy has been reaffirmed by increasing majorities wherever it has been challenged.

We would remind those otherwise good citizens, who by their personal example and public utterances are lending countenance to those who violate their country's laws, of the reasons which led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. It rests upon three fundamental considerations: first, the belief that in dealing with gigantic social evils like disease or crime individual liberty must be surrendered in the interest of effective social control, second

enclosed in letter of S. M. Cavert 3/26/26

the belief that the liquor traffic is such an evil - a conviction which is gaining strength all over the world and which has recently found official expression in the report of the special Commission on Drink of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm; third, the experience gained by a generation of experiment with substitutes, which has led the advocates of temperance to conclude that only drastic federal action could bring about the eradication of the evils they were fighting. Prohibition was not a policy adopted hastily or without due consideration and it is not to be set aside merely because great difficulty or even temporary reverses are encountered in carrying it out.

The report makes clear the remarkable social gains which followed upon the adoption of prohibition: a lowering of the death rate from alcoholic disease, a remarkable lessening of dependency due to alcoholism, a great reduction in drunkenness, and other results of a socially desirable sort. It also calls attention to the part undoubtedly played by prohibition in improving business and economic conditions, and, above all, points out the indisputable advantage gained by the abolition of the saloon. At the same time, the report reminds us that national prohibition has not yet been given a fair opportunity to vindicate its full value to the physical, economic, social and moral life of the nation and calls attention to serious dangers to which it is at present exposed.

The Federal Council gratefully recognizes the splendid service which has been rendered by the agencies especially authorized by the Churches which for many decades have labored persistently and effectively to secure the adoption and the maintenance of prohibition. The Council pledges its active cooperation with all agencies which are ready to make a sustained and constructive effort to uphold the prohibition regime in order that there may be a conclusive demonstration of its merit as a national policy. It urges the friends of prohibition in other countries not to be deceived by the attempts which have been made by opponents of prohibition to interpret the report as a confession of failure or even of discouragement on the part of the Federal Council or of its constituent church bodies.

The Federal Council calls upon the churches to undertake a renewed moral crusade to strengthen the hands of those who are responsible for prohibition enforcement and in particular to give a greater measure of moral support to the newly reorganized activities of the Federal Government. It urges upon all citizens who believe in prohibition the necessity of supporting the law by an irresistible volume of public opinion. Of those who may be out of sympathy with prohibition as a social measure or who question the wisdom of the particular method by which it was adopted, it asks voluntary compliance with the law in the interest of orderly government and in order that the policy it represents may be adequately tried. It appeals for a new measure of fair-mindedness and goodwill on the part of all in connection with this vitally important issue in order that the outcome of the great moral effort may be determined by reason rather than by prejudice and self-interest.

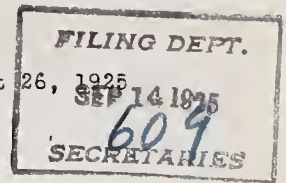
Especially does the Federal Council urge upon the churches the necessity for a more adequate program of education on the moral issues involved in the liquor traffic. We strongly emphasize the need for a far greater attention to this problem in the Church's program of religious education. In the last analysis, law depends for its support upon the public opinion which sustains it and the conscience of those who live under it.

There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that legislation can relieve us of the necessity of training our youth in habits of temperate living, self-control and the practice of Christian citizenship. To foster such habits and to cultivate such practice is the special and peculiar responsibility of the Church, to be ignored only at the peril of the nation.

It is our hope and confidence that the report of the Research Department on the prohibition situation, calling attention as it does to the real dangers with which we are confronted, will stir the churches to a renewed sense of their responsibility, not only for the enforcement of the prohibition law, but also for rallying the conscience of the nation to its support.

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22nd Street
New York City

For release August 26, 1925



SOME BY-PRODUCTS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

The return of Dr. W. W. Peet to the United States after more than forty years' service in Turkey as a missionary under the American Board has served to call attention to two significant developments. The first is the extraordinary influence which the Christian missionary of today has in the whole movement for international goodwill and the building of a better world order. The second is the new era of fellowship and cooperation between the Churches of the Eastern Orthodox faith and the Western Churches.

Dr. Peet's work has been all the more significant because it has been the service of a devoted layman who, before he became a missionary, was already a successful business man in this country. Attention was called to this fact at the farewell reception tendered to Dr. Peet by the entire American Colony at Constantinople just on the eve of Dr. Peet's leaving. The American Consul-General, G. B. Ravndal, in presenting Dr. Peet with a beautiful silver tray, characterized him as "America's foremost citizen in the Near East" and said in part:

"In 1881 Dr. Peet left a busy life as a railroad official in Nebraska to come out here for altruistic service. Practically ever since his landing in Turkey he has figured prominently as an outstanding personality among his fellow-men, a tower of strength in every just and noble cause. To serve humanity was, during these forty-four years, his chief aim and effort.

"In his missionary capacity Dr. Peet was Treasurer and Business Manager for all missions in Bulgaria and Turkey belonging to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In this way he fell heir to the charge of caring for the diplomatic relations of these missions in the Near East, and he developed into a close and interested student of diplomacy. He also became the trusted advisor of every American Minister and Ambassador from the days of General Lew Wallace down to the present time. Repeatedly he proceeded to Washington to confer with the Department of State in the interest of the missions. In order to safeguard their rights he explored Albania. In the Winter of 1902 he participated in a special mission to Macedonia and although, as we all know, not of the knight-errant type, he rescued Miss Ellen Stone, a missionary, from the hands of brigands. For this exploit Dr. Peet received the thanks of the President of the United States.

"For his participation in relief work Dr. Peet is celebrated both at home and abroad. Millions of dollars have passed through his hands for the alleviation of distress. He has been Treasurer of the Constantinople Chapter of the American Red Cross ever since its organization in 1911. He has been one of the leading factors in the Near East Relief movement. Dr. Peet's contribution during the last fifteen years of war in the Near East, to the relief of suffering humanity is beyond calculation. He was the first President of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant; he helped to organize the American Club of Constantinople; he served prominently on the Constantinople Y. M. C. A. Board; he was an active member of the Board of Trustees of the American College for Girls in Constantinople; he assisted essentially in starting and operating the American Hospital

in Constantinople. The French have a pretty custom of voting through their Parliament, when some citizen has served his country particularly well, that 'il a bien mérité de la patrie'. Dr. Peet indeed has served his country well abroad, and I am certain he will continue to do so at home, whether they make him a United States Senator or not."

An even more remarkable occasion was the farewell address to Dr. Peet made by Archbishop Kovork as the official head of the Armenian Gregorian Church. The Archbishop, in behalf of the Armenian people, presented to Dr. Peet a manuscript copy of the Gospels, richly illuminated and believed to date from the Fifth or Sixth Century. The Archbishop's address is so significant, as illustrating the new spirit of cooperation between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Churches of the West, that it is worth quoting in full:

"The solemn gospel oracle comes to our ears with a peculiar sweetness, especially at this time, when you retire from the work which you have carried on for many years, with great worthiness and perfect conscientiousness. Great is indeed our sorrow for your separation from us, for, in the entire course of your service, beginning particularly with the year 1895, for a period of more than thirty years, we have enjoyed your incessant care, so that the destitute Armenian, the Armenian widow and the Armenian orphan recognize in you their father, who in the days of the misery of our Nation never desisted from doing everything possible for the relief of its sufferings. Moreover, you became a devoted laborer in the vineyard of God in word and in deed. We therefore present you with a specimen of our most ancient and most rare parchment manuscripts of the Holy Gospels, that you may be always reminded that Armenians in the East, many centuries ago having received Christianity, became the heralds of the truth of the word of Life, and that you may always keep in remembrance the grateful Armenian race, which still stands in need of your paternal affection and solicitude for relief of the distress which is still its lot.

"On this occasion we bless also the undying memory of your benevolent life-companion, who became a worthy partner in your benefactions and whose tomb is and will remain with us as an unforgettable memorial of you two loving consorts.

"And now, in the name of the Armenians in Turkey we express to you our gratitude for all your invaluable assistance and solicitude and we beseech the Lord that he may grant unto you to spend the remainder of the days of your life in peace and in well-being and to hear these blessed heavenly words,

'Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'

At a conference with representatives of the foreign mission boards of several denominations, held in New York after his return, Dr. Peet urged that the American Churches, through the Federal Council of the Churches, appoint a representative in the Near East. The service to be rendered by such a representative in Dr. Peet's judgment, would be to knit up closer contacts between the Churches of the West and of the Near East, and to assist the Eastern Churches in developing practical programs of religious education in their own congregations and schools.

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SECRETARIES

January 6, 1926.

^E
Rev. F. C. Johnson,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Ever since a meeting of the Executive Committee in Detroit I have wanted an opportunity to tell you of my admiration for the tact and wisdom and Christian spirit with which you spoke at the time of the discussion of the prohibition report. I do not see how you could have met a difficult situation in a better way. I trust that in the end great good will have come out of this whole incident, and that both the prohibition cause and the cause of cooperation as represented in the council will be the better for it.

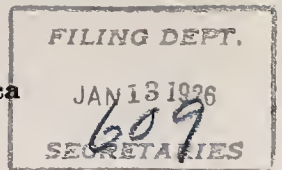
With best wishes for the new year,

Very cordially yours,

RES/EM

J. Ernest Johnson

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
(Incorporated)
105 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK



S. PARKES CADMAN, PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
GENERAL SECRETARIES
FRANK H. MANN, TREASURER

RECEIVED

JAN 11 1926

Mr. Speer

**Department of
Research and Education**

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, CHAIRMAN
F. ERNEST JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 3478

January 9, 1926

5

Rev. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Speer:

You can not know how much I appreciate your letter of January 6th.

I want to thank you for the fine Christian spirit which you have shown in all the discussions of this highly controversial question, and I join you in the earnest wish that our recent difficult experience may yield good in the long future.

With heartiest good wishes for the year just opening, I am,

Sincerely and gratefully yours,

J. Ernest Johnson

FEJ:ET

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609
SECRETARIES

February 6th, 1925

The Rev. S. M. Cavert,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cavert,

Your kind note of yesterday with the notes on my address at Atlanta is just received. I wrote out that address pretty fully for the Homeletic Review which is to print it in an issue of the near future. At the same time on looking over the note you sent, I am inclined to think that they include some points that I forgot to put in the article for the "Homeletic Review", and you are quite free to print the statement which you sent, if you wish to do so, in the Bulletin, or perhaps you would prefer to wait until you see the article in the "Homeletic Review" and then make use of that.

1928
I still hope that you and Dr. Macfarland may feel that it is wise for you to go to Montevideo. All the Protestant Churches of South America will be represented there, and our Federal Council ought to be in touch with them. There will be no other opportunity of this sort for many years. There will be problems before the conference also with which you could give great help and I can not tell you what a delight it would be to Mrs. Speer and me to have you as a fellow traveller. I am writing to Dr. Macfarland about the matter, and earnestly trust that nothing may prevent your going.

I have your note regarding the meeting on Friday, February 13th.

S. M. Cavort, p. 2

2/6/25

of the Nominating Committee. I will try to be there, but may not get over until nearly 1:00 o'clock, and shall have to be back at a meeting here at 2:15. The meeting here and an engagement in Philadelphia later will prevent my getting to the meeting of the Administrative Committee. Will you please have Miss Chase include my name among those excused for absence.

Your sincere friend,

RCS:C.

S. M. Cavert

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FEB 10 1925
SECRETARIES

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
(INCORPORATED)

Northern Baptist Convention
National Baptist Convention
Free Baptist Churches
Christian Church
Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ

Friends
Evangelical Church
Evangelical Synod of N. A.
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
Colored M. E. Church in America

Methodist Protestant Church
Moravian Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (South)
Primitive Methodist Church
Protestant Episcopal Commission on
Christian Unity and Department of
Christian Social Service

Reformed Church in America
Reformed Church in the U. S.
Reformed Episcopal Church
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Presbyterian Church
United Lutheran Church
(Consultative Body)

NATIONAL OFFICES, 612 UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING, 105 EAST 22d STREET, NEW YORK

Cable Address: Fedcil

Telephone: Gramercy 3475

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL SECRETARIES

REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

EB 6 - 1925
Mr. Speer

76

February fifth
1925

Dear Dr. Speer:

It has been a great regret to me that we did not have a stenographic report made of the address which you gave at Atlanta, reviewing the last four years. The best that I have as a record of it is some rather fragmentary notes which I have now found time to expand as well as I could from memory. I am sending you the result herewith. I do so with some apologies, for I am conscious that it is wholly inadequate, both in style and substance, really to reproduce what you said. I should like, however, to use it in the Bulletin and to give it to some of the editors of the religious press, even in this rather unsatisfactory form, if you are willing. Will you be good enough to read it over sometime at your convenience and make any changes that you would like to make? If it should be possible, as I daresay it is not, for you to expand or rewrite it completely, I should be all the more pleased.

Gratefully yours,

Samuel McCreia Cavert
SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
General Secretary

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

SMC AS
Enc.